

NuclearTimes

SEPT • OCT 1986

\$4

UP FOR GRABS

- *Election Countdown*
- *Legislative Showdown*

READER SURVEY
INSIDE

WANTED: MORE SENATORS WITH COURAGE

We need a majority in the U.S. Senate with the courage to say NO to the dangerous and wasteful military buildup, senators who will oppose Star Wars, MX, ASAT, and deadly nerve gas. Council for a Livable World identifies and supports such candidates – challengers and incumbents. In 1984 we raised over a million dollars for candidates committed to nuclear arms control. When you give through the Council, you make out your checks to the candidates but send them to us. You retain your political identity. The Council delivers your check—with thousands of others—to the candidates and lets them know that the contributions are from the peace community. We concentrate on close races, where your checks can make a difference.

SENATE CANDIDATES ENDORSED BY COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD AS OF JUNE, 1986

PATRICK LEAHY

Democrat—Vermont

Incumbent Patrick Leahy is a national leader for nuclear arms control. He is being challenged by former Governor Richard Snelling, who was persuaded to run by Ronald Reagan. An upset is possible.

Political odds: Leahy favored.

Make checks out to LEAHY FOR U.S. SENATOR COMMITTEE.

TIM WIRTH

Democrat—Colorado

Representative Wirth seeks to succeed retiring incumbent Gary Hart. Wirth has a virtually perfect record on arms control. Republican opponent, Rep. Ken Kramer, supports the Reagan military buildup.

Political odds: even. *Make checks out to COMMITTEE FOR TIM WIRTH.*

HARRIETT WOODS

Democrat—Missouri

Lt. Gov. Woods is running for the seat of retiring incumbent Tom Eagleton. She is a firm supporter of a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze. Her opponent, former Gov. Christopher Bond, is a loyal supporter of Ronald Reagan. **Political odds:** even. *Make checks out to HARRIETT WOODS COMMITTEE.*

TOM DASCHLE

Democrat—South Dakota

Challenger Daschle is South Dakota's only Representative in the House and a strong arms control supporter. Incumbent Senator James Abdnor is the far-right-winger who defeated George McGovern in 1980. The farm crisis will be important and Abdnor is vulnerable. **Political odds:** Daschle slight favorite. *Make checks out to A LOT OF PEOPLE SUPPORTING TOM DASCHLE.*

ED GARVEY

Democrat—Wisconsin

Challenger Garvey is a tough independent progressive who will shake up the Senate. Formerly executive director of the National Football League Players Association, he can take the seat from superhawk incumbent Sen. Robert Kasten. **Political odds:** Kasten favored. *Make checks out to GARVEY FOR SENATE.*

ALAN CRANSTON

Democrat—California

Incumbent Cranston is one of the best friends of the peace movement. A national leader for nuclear arms control, his voting record is superb. While Cranston leads now, we expect the November election to be very close. **Political odds:** Cranston favored. *Make checks out to CRANSTON FOR SENATE.*

BROCK ADAMS

Democrat—Washington

Challenger Adams is a former congressman and Secretary of Transportation with a solid record on nuclear arms control. Incumbent Senator Slade Gorton has a poor record on military issues. **Political odds:** Gorton favored. *Make checks out to BROCK ADAMS SENATE COMMITTEE.*

KENT CONRAD

Democrat—North Dakota

Challenger Conrad has been tax commissioner since 1980, elected statewide by big margins. A convinced arms controller, he is rising rapidly in the public opinion polls. The farm revolt against Reagan policies gives Conrad a chance to defeat incumbent Senator Mark Andrews. **Political odds:** Andrews favored. *Make checks out to THE CONRAD CAMPAIGN.*

BOB EDGAR

Democrat—Pennsylvania

Challenger Edgar is an arms control leader in the House of Representatives with a 100% voting record. Incumbent Senator Arlen Specter supports Star Wars and MX. Edgar is a superb politician. **Political odds:** Specter slight favorite. *Make checks out to BOB EDGAR FOR U.S. SENATE.*

JOHN EVANS

Democrat—Idaho

Challenger Evans is a popular two-term Governor running against freshman incumbent Senator Steven Symms, one of the worst hawks in Congress. Evans believes in arms control, supports a comprehensive test ban, opposes the MX. **Political odds:** even. *Make checks out to JOHN EVANS FOR SENATE CAMPAIGN.*

WYCHE FOWLER

Democrat—Georgia

Challenger Fowler is a bright light in the U.S. House of Representatives, with a strong record on nuclear arms control. Incumbent Senator Mack Mattingly, who rates zero on nuclear arms control, could be upset. **Political odds:** Mattingly favored. *Make checks out to COMMITTEE TO ELECT WYCHE FOWLER.*

DALE BUMPERS

Democrat—Arkansas

Incumbent Bumpers is one of the most effective members of the Senate, a recognized leader for nuclear arms control. Challenger Asa Hutchinson will follow the Reagan military policies down the line. **Political odds:** Bumpers favored. *Make checks out to BUMPERS FOR SENATE.*

If you wish to contribute to any of the above campaigns, please make out checks to appropriate committees and mail to: Council for a Livable World, Room 603, 20 Park Plaza, Boston, MA 02116. The committees listed above have authorized this advertisement, paid for by CLW.

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Letters

Playing With Fire

I was interested in (but also disturbed by) the article "The Psychology of Threats" in your July-August issue, billed as "a debate on the use of nuclear diplomacy." Is there really any diplomacy in the nuclear threat?

If Kincade would use his psychology to explain why U.S.-Soviet enmity exists in the first place and what can be done aside from nuclear weaponry (which is the real threat to both superpowers) to change that enmity into at least a "live and let live" policy, he would be contributing vastly more to a solution of the problem and might be well on the way toward formulating a "mutual aid" policy. Halperin's bland use of phrases such as "credible weapons of war" and his reference to "the opponent" are matched by Kincade's "constraining Soviet behavior" and references to "their adversary." There is no mention of U.S. behavior or its use of incredible weapons of war. It seems to me that both of them avoid addressing the real issue: why have we assiduously cultivated the concept of opponent and adversary and how do we go about changing it?

—M.C. Morris
Moorestown, N.J.

Not O.K. in OK.

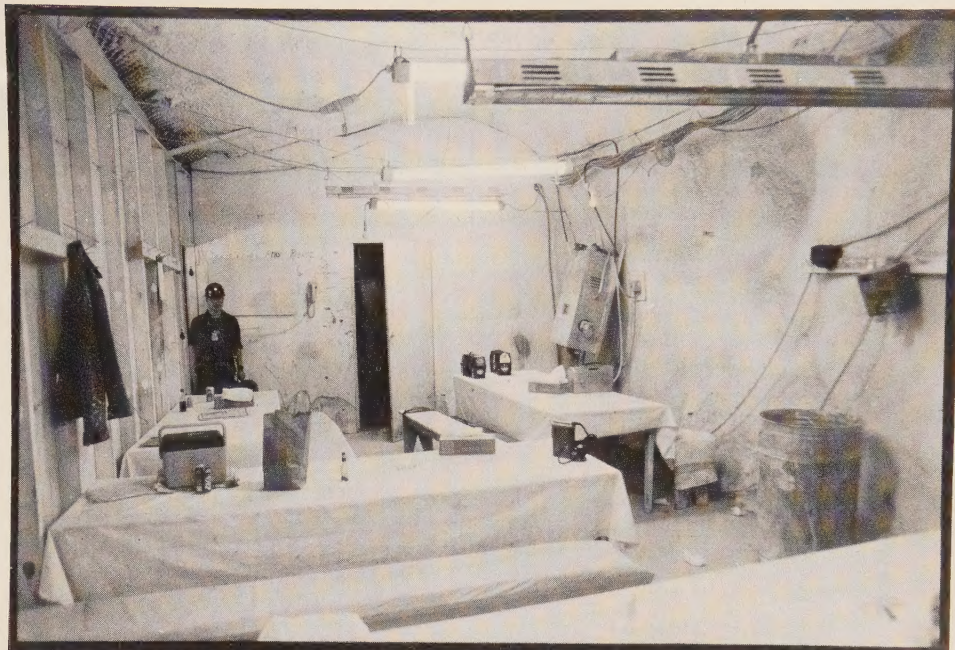
I'm writing for a "dot." On the cover of the July-August issue, the picture of the United States had a red dot representing each nuclear facility in the country, but you missed one, the Kerr-McGee Sequoyan Fuels uranium purification facility near Gore, Oklahoma. They refine half of the yellowcake that is processed in the United States and one-fifth of what is processed in the free world. They dump a lot of waste on us locally in order to do that, so please add a dot near the Arkansas line in the middle of the state of Oklahoma.

—Jessie Deer in the water
Native Americans for
a Clean Environment
Vian, Ok.

(A note in that issue explained that the dots on the cover represented many of the nation's nuclear facilities, not all of them. Unfortunately, there were just too many to include on one map. —Eds.)

Women Theorists

I was pleased to see your article (July-August '86) on the Exploratory Project on the Conditions of Peace. Thanks for the coverage. However, two women in the group whose names were not included in the article—Carolyn M. Stephenson,



VIEWS FROM THE NUCLEAR WORLD by Robert Del Tredici
Lunch room: Nevada Test Site, Area 12, N Tunnel.

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editor of *Alternative Methods for International Security*, and Patricia M. Mische, author of *Star Wars and the State of Our Souls* and *Toward a Human World Order*—merit mention as “alternative security theorists” as much as do I and the four other men who were named.

—Robert A. Irwin

Center for International Affairs
Harvard University
Cambridge, Ma.

(Three ExPro members who are women were mentioned in the article: Eleanor LeCain, Elise Boulding and Pam Solo. —Eds.)

Letter Perfect

A serious problem confronting those of us who support a nuclear weapons freeze is that of getting our message out to the general public. One sensible way to deal with this problem was touched on in your recent “Ideas That Work” column (May-June '86), which is to write letters and/or opinion pieces to newspapers.

It is worth comparing this “idea that works” with the PROPeace march, an idea that didn't. The simple fact is that the peace movement would have been better off if, instead of trying to raise a couple of million to have 5000 people take a year to trek across the country, they had spent a couple of thousand to organize 5000 people to write a “letter-

to-the-editor” once a month. Writing letters to newspapers requires virtually no resources, relatively little time and no special skills. Yet it can be an extremely cost effective way to reach the wider community.

—Dan Solomon
Evanston, Il.

EDITORS' NOTE

In the centerfold of this issue you will find NUCLEAR TIMES' first survey of its readers. We would appreciate it very much if you would take a few moments to answer the questions and mail the form back to us, using the self-contained mailer. The answers will be held in strict confidence; we don't even want to know your name. Your participation is very important to us. The survey will tell us what you think we're doing well, and not so well, and possibly point us in some new directions. It will also assist our efforts to attract additional advertising. By participating in the readers' survey you will be able to take part in improving both the editorial and financial health of the magazine. Thank you very much for your help.

—EDS.

Send letters to the editor to NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10001.

THE FALSE FRONTIER

A New Video on Star Wars by the Union of Concerned Scientists

The Strategic Defense Initiative is quickly becoming one of the largest research and development programs in the United States. The program could become the nation's number one priority for the next two decades. American ingenuity is off and running again.

But many doubts have been raised about the merits of SDI, or Star Wars as it is more commonly known. Should it really be America's next pioneering challenge? Should America direct its



best ingenuity and resources into this program? Will the SDI bring lasting security to the United States, or will it result in a major escalation of the nuclear arms race?

This new ten minute program, available in video format and as a narrated slide show, provides an overview of the key issues central to the debate over Star Wars. Presented by the Union of Concerned Scientists. Suitable for high school audiences and above.

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- Ten minute slide show with automated sound tape: \$15

To order, write or call: Union of Concerned Scientists

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EARLY WARNINGS

First-Strike Fiction

Summer may be winding down but it's never too late, especially for an overworked activist or researcher, to take a break with some escapist literature. How to combine getting away from it all and staying in touch? Here's a suggestion from Michael Ferber, disarmament coordinator for the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C.

"Not many peace activists," Ferber tells us, "are spy thriller fans, but everyone should check out the bestseller *Dunn's Conundrum* by Stan Lee [Warner Books, \$3.95]. It has the hard-boiled insider's witty cynicism, the sudden plot-turns, the fascination with gadgetry, and the kinky sex typical of the genre, but these are almost beside its serious main point, which is to present in lucid detail a secret plan for a U.S. first strike. One of the inner group of planners tries to stop it, and in a lecture to peace movement leaders (including the woman who authored the freeze proposal!) he explains the entire plan.

"It's all here: submarine choke-points, SOSUS arrays, EMP, decapitation, CEPs, and so on, the best 10-page hair-raising summary I have seen of what America's capacity will become in a few years. There is even a mathematical scale for it, with a go/no-go decision when it passes 95 percent. Some readers may think the idea of a conspiracy is a paranoid fantasy, but it's not easy to distinguish paranoia from common sense these days, and Stan Lee just may be right.

"Warner Books tells me they have printed 578,000 copies of *Dunn's Conundrum*. We should give Stan Lee an award for getting the word out to an audience we seldom reach." □

Two Into Five?

The nuclear test ban issue will heat up on several fronts this fall. While Congress decides the future of the House-passed funding cutoff measure, the Center for Defense Information (CDI) will press its appeal



(which has been signed by over 150 local organizations) for a one-year test moratorium and negotiations leading to a Comprehensive Test Ban. The Soviets have already expressed willingness to sign what CDI calls "The Olaf Palme Agreement." And the World Federalists Association, joined by 22 national peace groups, is lobbying Congress on two resolutions that would give legislative support to the Five Continent Peace Initiative.

One of the most important proposals to come out of the August 5-7 meeting of the Five Continent Peace Initiative leaders in Ixtapa, Mexico calls for scientists from the six participating nations—Greece, India, Argentina, Sweden, Mexico and Tanzania—to take over as many as 60 seismological stations in the United States and the Soviet Union to verify a nuclear test moratorium. "It is politically important because it spells out what would be needed for a permanent system of verification," explains Aaron Tovish, research director of Parliamentarians Global Action, the group that launched the Initiative.

Verification expert Michael Krepon, however, believes that this kind

of third-party verification, while useful for multilateral agreements, "doesn't work well with bilateral agreements. They [the Americans and the Soviets] are not going to let some third party come in and adjudicate." Bringing in a third party, says Krepon, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "could complicate the problem of interpreting data. The problem is not getting the data, the problem is interpreting it, which is a political process." □

Second Summit

"We'll be taking the premise of the Five Continent Peace Initiative to citizens," says Karen Mulhauser, chair of Women for a Meaningful Summit (WMS). In their efforts to raise expectations for a superpower summit later this year, WMS is joining grass-roots activists in this country with an international network that includes foreign heads of state and world parliamentarians.

At the recent WMS Forum '86 in Washington, D.C., the 200 participants launched a postcard campaign,

EARLY WARNINGS



Another season is underway for the Richland High School Bombers, the team with mushroom clouds on their helmets. The Bombers, who get their name and symbol from the nearby Hanford reservation (which turns out nuclear weapons-grade material) have dominated Washington state's Big Nine conference for 20 years.

giving citizens a chance to state the issues that should be addressed at a summit. The cards are being returned to WMS for delivery to Reagan and Gorbachev. (Last year, a WMS delegation at the Geneva summit presented petitions calling for a test ban to Gorbachev and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Charles Thomas during private meetings.)

When Mulhauser met the six leaders of the Five Continent Peace Initiative in Mexico, the leaders agreed to supply the names of prominent women in their countries to invite to an international WMS-sponsored meeting in Greece scheduled for November 7-9. Hosted by WMS endorser Margaret Papandreou (wife of Five Continent signatory Prime

Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece), the meeting will help organize women to exert their influence, as well as to attract media attention. □

Watch This Space

In a settlement that has far-reaching implications for the peace movement's efforts to out-debate (if not outspend) its political foes, a U.S. District Court has granted author/educator Sheila Tobias "irrevocable, royalty-free license" to use videotapes produced by the pro-SDI High Frontier in her own videotaped rebuttals.

It all started in 1984 when Tobias

and her collaborator, Arizona state Representative Peter Goudinoff, excerpted portions from a High Frontier videotape for their own 30-minute rebuttal. Entitled "The People's Guide to National Defense: Behind the High Frontier," the tape uses High Frontier's own futuristic graphics and authoritative-sounding claims to demolish, point by point, its defense of SDI. Tobias immediately made the tape available to peace activists around the country.

High Frontier sued for copyright infringement. Tobias countered the charge with the argument that she was within her first amendment rights to engage in political debate. "Their strategy," Tobias told NUCLEAR TIMES, "was to come down bulldozer style on peace activists. Their purpose was harassment, but this one backfired."

The informal precedent set by the legal settlement is already having an impact. The Center for Defense Information in Washington is now storyboarding a 30-second television commercial that will counter the pro-SDI claims made in a widely shown High Frontier television commercial. "We can now say, 'Be forewarned,'" says Tobias. "If you put nonsense on the screen your own material will be used to rebut you." □

Defense Weak

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is putting heavy pressure on state governments to implement its plan to set up shelters for the protection of state and local officials against radiation in the event of a nuclear attack. FEMA director Julius W. Becton notified state governments in July that they may no longer receive Civil Defense Act funds for natural disaster planning unless they accept FEMA's exclusive plan.

But the coalition of activists which helped defeat FEMA's 1982 Crisis Relocation Planning program is gearing up for another fight, and this time around they are receiving the support of many government officials who were reluctant to oppose the agency a few years ago. "They now know that FEMA is very vulnerable, frequently wrong—and they are willing to defy it," says Jennifer Leaning, a member of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR). Members of Nuclear Free America in Baltimore, the Traprock Peace Center in Deerfield, Massachusetts, PSR and

BLIPS

The **First Global Radiation Victims Conference** will be held in New York next fall . . . Sales of **war toys** appear to be down following the wave of citizen protests this year. Even **Sylvester Stallone** has blasted the "Rambo" toy line . . . Five well-known television actors who returned to Pittsburgh's Carnegie-Mellon University to take part in a fundraiser for the school pulled out when they learned that their *alma mater* received \$103 million in defense contracts. The actors were **Charles Haid, Barbara Bosson, Robert Foxworth, David Lander** and **Renee Auberjonois** . . . Two of the leading celebrities raising money for peace candidates this year are **Barbra Streisand** and **Robin Williams** . . . Council for a Livable World is distributing a booklet by **Carl Sagan** called "USA and USSR: Let's go to Mars—TOGETHER" . . . A new Council on Economic Priorities study finds that 19 leading SDI contractors contributed almost **\$6 million** through their PACs to candidates running for office between 1983 through the spring of this year.

The Front Line, an anti-civil defense resource center in Santa Fe, New Mexico, are heading the effort to convince Congress to block funding for the plan and to rewrite the Civil Defense Act of 1950 so that nuclear war civil defense and natural disaster planning are permanently separated.

At least 130 communities across the country have adopted resolutions rejecting civil defense planning for nuclear war. In Illinois, the DeKalb County Board has written a resolution calling the latest plan "a violation of public trust," and suggesting that if any emergency operating centers are installed, "the placement should be next to the headquarters of FEMA so that the officials who proposed this folly might be placed in it now." □

Honesty Pays

The Senate has put the teeth back into a law that helps the government fight defense contractor fraud. The False Claims Reform Act, known as the "Lincoln Law" (it was first enacted in 1863) allows citizens who know of fraud to sue on the government's behalf—and to receive a cut

of any successful settlement. It also protects the litigant from retaliation.

The aerospace industry, claiming that the bill infringes on civil liberties and hurts small business, tried to gut the Act with an amendment allowing contractors to stall under the exhaustive appeal rights of the Contracts Dispute Act. This attempt failed in the Senate, and the House is working to rid a sister bill of the allowance. "One must wonder when the aerospace industry became a defender of civil liberties and small business," says Jim Morrison, vice president for public policy of Business Executives for National Security which lobbied for the law. □

NFZ Zapped

A food irradiation company in New Jersey has succeeded in having an ordinance declaring Union County a nuclear free zone (NFZ) struck down. The first lawsuit against an existing NFZ was brought by Radiation Technology Inc., whose license to operate an irradiation facility in nearby Morris County was temporarily revoked recently by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) because

of "gross safety violations." The company now plans to go ahead with the construction of a 66,000-square foot plant in Elizabeth, a city with a population of 106,000.

Judge John W. Bissell of the Federal District Court held that the NFZ ordinance, passed in 1985, was an unconstitutional and unenforceable infringement of Federal powers to regulate the nuclear industry. Bissell has set an important precedent for the 118 NFZ communities in the United States, 47 of which have adopted NFZ status through legally binding bylaws, ordinances or charter amendments.

Vincent Cino, the attorney representing Union County, views the broader implications of the decision as "devastating." But Albert Donnay, director of Nuclear Free America (NFA), insists that since NFA has encouraged NFZ ordinances to address a variety of priorities, Union County's defeat remains isolated. Donnay maintains that the NFZ legislation can't be preempted if an economic justification, rather than merely health and safety arguments, is cited in the NFZ ordinance. In such cases, he maintains, the state rather than the federal government enjoys overriding authority. □

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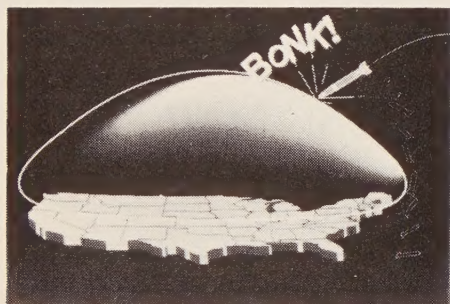
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NUCLEAR CULTURE

We should not be surprised by the recent report that end-time imagery has been sweeping across the Soviet Union. According to Serge Schmemmann in *The New York Times*, Russians have discovered that, in the biblical description of the Apocalypse, "there fell a great star from heaven [whose] name is . . . wormwood," and that the Ukrainian word for wormwood (a bitter wild herb used as a tonic in rural Russia) is *chernobyl*.

While we are not told exactly what Soviet citizens make of this connection, we can assume that many of them see it as proof of the inevitability of an earth-destroying nuclear holocaust, and that at least some welcome that nuclear Armageddon as a necessary cleansing of the earth and its evil human inhabitants.

That embrace of the nuclear end—what we may call the armageddonist stance—has been powerfully explored in the United States by A.G. Mojtabai in her recent book, *Blessed Assurance: At Home with the Bomb in Amarillo, Texas* (Houghton Mifflin, \$16.95). Mojtabai suggests that end-time imagery in Amarillo is greatly intensified by the presence in that city of the Pantex plant, where all nuclear weapons made in the United States are assembled. But the book goes further: it tells us that armageddonism—imagining and welcoming the end of the world—is a major American cultural response to the nuclear threat.

For the armageddonist, moral behavior lies not in preventing, but in spiritual preparation for, the nuclear end. Having achieved the status of the elect, one can anticipate joyously the moment of "rapture," of ascent. "Why don't you do it tonight, Jesus? . . . If you're ready to go, it would be fantastic," shouts one end-time minister.

Armageddonism can be so compelling to so many because it provides, however crudely, a meaning structure within which our cosmic terror can be lodged, and we become eligible for a form of survival. The apocalyptic biblical genre, as a form of prophecy involving the judgment of the dead and some form of eschatological salvation, is central to Judeo-Christian tradition. We know, of course, of the clear intra-Christian alternative, put forward recently by the Catholic Bishops as well as by Methodist leaders and those of other denominations, which more wisely identifies nuclear mass murder and genocide as evil, and looks to the prin-

ciples of mutuality and love—at the very least, of shared fate—to prevent that evil from manifesting itself.

But that spiritual battle extends well beyond Christianity, and would seem to have a secular version as well. The lure of Armageddon can be present in anyone. Those who espouse the ideology I call "nuclearism" (exaggerated embrace, and even near-worship, of the weaponry, together with polarized imagery of Soviet evil and American virtue) may be most prone to it. Steven Kull's research on the mind-sets of nuclear strategists reveals examples of this armageddonism. Even when the lure of the nuclear end is not discernibly present, aggressive impulses concerning alleged "challenge" or "risk"—toward playing "nuclear chicken" or assuming the role of the "nuclear madman" to make one's adversary back off—can play a similar role. Secular armageddonists, like their religious counterparts, may renounce responsibility for the nuclear holocaust they anticipate (and in some cases press toward bringing about), viewing it as a manifestation of a greater power, an inevitable outcome of our time.

As recognition of the totality of nuclear destruction takes hold, armageddonism becomes the last refuge of "winning"—in this case, winning the survival. But side-by-side with that perverse trend is an apparent expansion of shared-fate imagery, of recognition that either both the Soviet Union and the United States—as individuals, both you and I—survive, or neither will. It will be no exaggeration to view the struggle as one between love of this life and hatred for it—between responsibility toward the lives of others as opposed to vitriolic renunciation of the "other" as a carrier of evil.

Yet I would be wary of dividing the world neatly into armageddonists and life-enhancers. Either or both tendencies could be present in large numbers of people. Indeed, a sense of, or even desire for, the end of the world is part of a general human psychological potential, and can be strongly evoked by combinations of inner terror and desperate need for regenerative hope. Conversely, armageddonist tendencies can quickly diminish where there are alternative images of hope and of human continuity. Clearly this is a time to explore and cultivate—psychologically, spiritually, and politically—love for our world and hope for its future.

—Robert Jay Lifton

Arms Control Takes The Hill

Dramatic wins in the House raise hopes

BY MARTIN HAMBURGER

"This is substance, the freeze was rhetoric," comments Edith Wilkie, executive director of the congressional Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus. "I think that this is the most important work in arms control in any of my 15 years on the Hill." As Congress prepared to leave Washington in mid-August to launch the fall election campaign it offered a stinging rebuke to the Reagan Administration, voting unprecedented support for a package of key arms control provisions as part of the Fiscal Year 1987 Defense Authorization bill. While both houses expressed a strongly critical view of Reagan's arms control policy, it was the House of Representatives which took the most resounding steps to confront the President's defense buildup on five key arms control votes.

The focus now moves to the joint House/Senate conference committee, where negotiators must resolve the differences between the two bills. Following that the issues will be debated again when Congress considers the second round of the military budget process, the Defense Appropriations bill, later in September.

For the moment, though, arms controllers on Capitol Hill are savoring the moment before focusing on the difficult work yet to come. "The way I feel now is the way I feel on a hot summer day doing a back flip into the cool water, watching the clouds go by," says Nancy Donaldson, political director of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND). Many lobbyists recall the days when it was a no-holds-barred struggle just to pass a nonbinding resolution in support of a nuclear weapons freeze. During the House debate arms controllers had something to smile about for a change, observing the frustrated looks that White House lobbyists wore as one defeat followed another. Even Representative Robert Dornan, one of the House's most ardent hawks, was moved to take the floor of the House with the plaintive cry of "Where are you Mr. President?" (White House lobbyists had their hands full with contra aid, South Africa and

trade bills.)

By far the biggest single action on the nuclear arms control issue came when the House overwhelmingly passed a one-year moratorium on all but the smallest nuclear tests (*see sidebar, page 10*), by an impressive 234-155. The vote sets an important precedent for future congressional action: Congress shed its traditional deference to the Executive branch, and initiated a strong arms control policy over the objections of the President. "For the first time in 40 years, we get arms control because Congress says so," says Wilkie.



Rep. Pat Schroeder led test ban fight

Administration pleas that the vote would "undercut the negotiators" seemed to fall on deaf ears.

The Senate, meanwhile, replaying a 1984 test ban vote, passed a Kennedy-Mathias non-binding amendment by a vote of 64-35. The amendment urged the President to restart negotiations on a comprehensive test ban, and to submit the currently-unratified Threshold Test Ban and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaties to the Senate for advice and consent.

HOUSE CALLS

Congress also dealt the President a stinging defeat on Star Wars. Confronted with the growing federal budget deficit, legislators balked at the \$5.4 billion Pentagon

request for new spending on SDI. The House froze Star Wars spending at last year's level of about \$3.1 billion. The amendment, offered by Representatives Nick Mavroules, Charles Bennett and Vic Fazio, passed 239-176. The Senate narrowly approved a scaled-down request of \$3.9 billion, by a 50-49 vote.

On no other issue were lobbyists and members of Congress working more closely. Weekly meetings in the office of Representative Tom Downey served as a forum for exchange of intelligence on swing members. The House leadership also made the Bennett-Mavroules amendment a top priority, which proved helpful in gathering support from moderate and conservative Democrats.

Congress again stepped into an arms control policy void as both the House and Senate attempted to reinforce the limits contained in the SALT II Treaty. The treaty came under attack recently when President Reagan announced that he felt "no longer bound" by the numerical limits. An amendment designed to enforce the SALT limits directly through the congressional power of the purse (cutting off funds for weapons deployed over those limits) passed 225-186, due to the dogged effort of one-time MX proponent, Representative Norm Dicks. With single-minded devotion, Dicks gathered commitments from undecided House members in what some say was an attempt to make amends with arms controllers after his support for the MX. The strong House vote, in addition to a Senate provision urging the President to stick with the SALT limits, reflects broad opposition to Pentagon efforts to undermine the existing arms control regime.

As in years past, the House voted (222-197) to support a moratorium on tests of antisatellite weapons. The Senate again defeated the moratorium, but by its narrowest margin to date. The amendment offered by Senator John Kerry garnered 43 votes, picking up the votes of three Republican senators up for reelection who had previously opposed the ban.

Finally, on the issue of nerve gas, the House and Senate split their positions. The Senate, which had twice approved new nerve gas by the tie-breaking vote of Vice President George Bush, did so

again, defeating an amendment by Senator Slade Gorton which would have cut funds for the "Bigeye" bomb, a new nerve gas weapon. The House narrowly supported a one-year delay in production of the weapons by a razor-thin margin of 210-209.

CONFERENCE CALLS

While the joint conference meetings-behind-closed-doors are basically invulnerable to grass-roots pressure, the eventual outcome will again be subject to votes of the full House and Senate on the second round of the military budget process, the Fiscal Year 1987 Defense Appropriations bill. Both the House and the Senate are expected to consider this bill during the second half of September, and each of the five major arms control issues will be hotly debated.

It is highly unlikely that arms controllers will emerge from the conference committee with all of their achievements in hand. But it is clear that the Republican-controlled Senate will have to give some ground. Since conferees have supported the moratorium on antisatellite testing in previous years, this seems a likely compromise measure. On Star Wars, the conferees will come close to splitting the difference between the House position of \$3.1 billion and the Senate position of \$3.9 billion. On the nuclear test ban and SALT II issues, it seems unlikely that the conferees would accept the very strong House positions on these issues, which involve funding cutoffs. Some watered-down position will likely emerge. Sources say, for example, that a possible compromise on the SALT issue could specify that certain weapons be dismantled this December when Reagan deployment plans would violate the numerical limits of the treaty—but go no further than that.

Is this a turning point for arms control in Congress? Few lobbyists would answer that question without qualifications. "This is an incredible victory for the American people," says WAND's Donaldson. "But I don't think it is going to change Administration policy. We need negotiated, verifiable agreements to have permanent progress," she notes. There is no question, however, that the tide has at least temporarily turned on Capitol Hill. "After six years, Ronald Reagan can no longer send a delegation to Moscow [as he did this year on the eve of the House votes] and expect to win a vote on the Hill," says Wilkie. With the 1986 congressional elections looming, public pressure to cut the military budget and reduce deficits growing, and the Reagan Administration's lack of credibility on the arms control issue showing, the prognosis for further arms control victories looks bright. □



Test ban would idle workers at N Tunnel, Nevada Test Site

This Is Not A Test

Of all the upsets which the Administration suffered at the hands of Congress, none was bigger than the House passage of a one-year nuclear weapons test ban. The measure, similar to a bill which Representative Pat Schroeder introduced early on in the 99th Congress, would ban U.S. tests of nuclear weapons contingent upon similar Soviet behavior. The ban would apply to all nuclear tests in excess of a one-kiloton threshold.

The right combination of grass-roots lobbying, congressional coalition-building and changing political winds was the formula for success. While Capitol Hill lobbyists expressed surprise at the amendment's margin of victory (79 votes), grass-roots organizers did not. Organizers had laid the foundation long ago for last month's crucial victory. "The people [votes] we picked up were the result of two years of activity beating away on test ban stuff," says Dick Mark, executive director of the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) grass-roots organizer Faye Kelle agrees. "The test ban vote would have never happened if it hadn't been for the grass-roots activity," says Kelle.

The changing national political climate also helped. After six years of acquiescing to Reagan's pleas to give arms control negotiators "bargaining chips," Congress seems to have lost

patience with the lack of progress in Geneva. "There's a real restlessness with Reagan's policies," says SANE lobbyist Jerry Hartz. Members of Congress are searching to prove they are supportive of arms control. "Arms control is not going to be the deciding issue in many election campaigns, but on the other hand politicians clearly want to be seen on the side of arms control," says John Isaacs, legislative director of Council for a Livable World.

Finally, internal House politics may have helped push the vote over the top. Leading the fight for the test ban measure was House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin. Aspin has been criticized by the liberals for his votes for the MX missile and aid to the contras, and is looking to bolster his support among his liberal colleagues to fend off attempts by more conservative members of the committee to oust him as chairman. With persistent prodding by chief test ban sponsor Pat Schroeder, Aspin proved valuable in lining up commitments of more moderate and conservative representatives.

The test ban measure still faces several significant hurdles before it becomes law, despite the Soviet Union's extension of its own test moratorium until January 1. The members of the conference committee, drawn from the hawkish armed services committees, are expected to water down the measure to allow continued nuclear testing. But the full Congress will again take up the matter in late September as part of the appropriations bill. Members sitting on the appropriations committees are not as hardline as their colleagues from armed services. —M.H.

Two-Power Alliance

Freeze/SANE merger goes to the grass roots

BY LEE FEINSTEIN

The SANE/Freeze Commission "has literally taken off and is running," declared Cora Weiss, SANE's chief representative to the 17-member merger committee, following a Commission meeting at the end of July. The six-month-old Commission, staffed by representatives of the two antinuclear groups and by members of other peace organizations, has developed draft proposals on a structure for a merged group and on a credo, or statement of purpose. Commission members have sent the proposals to the board leadership of SANE and the national committee of the Freeze Campaign. The earliest date that the Commission expects each group to approve a merger plan is in December. Even if a plan is passed, the complicated process of unification could take up to three years.

On the surface, the merging of these two groups would seem both natural and timely. The Freeze's strength rests in a five-year-old network of over 1800 loosely-affiliated grass-roots organizations. SANE has a long history and a well-staffed and relatively well-funded headquarters in Washington, D.C. Both organizations have recently undergone major staff upheavals. A well-planned merger could breathe new life into both.

The proposed organization envisioned by the Commission would try to draw on the strengths of each group. A large national office in Washington is envisioned for the new group, according to Meg Gage, the Commission's treasurer, complemented by a permanent field staff which would aim to support the grass roots. While this arrangement would seem to satisfy both Freeze and SANE members, other elements of the merger will be more difficult for the two groups to accept.

DUES PAYING MEMBERS?

The new organization, according to the unity proposal, would be supported by a dues-paying membership. Members might be eligible for a variety of services. SANE is already organized as a dues-paying group with some 150,000 members who pay a \$20 annual membership fee. Local Freeze groups, however, prize their independence and have resisted the idea

of formal membership in a national organization. There is no comprehensive list of people who are affiliated with or active in Freeze organizations.

Some members of the commission believe the major obstacle to the success of the merger will be whether the Freeze Campaign can coax its massive number of grass-roots supporters into formally becoming part of a new organization. "The question about the Freeze is, is it a sleeping giant or a senile one?" a "neutral" member of the Commission says. "Can it actually tap that great strength or not?"

ANTINUCLEAR OR ANTI-WAR?

The proposed organization would be a peace group with a broad agenda. "It integrates the freeze, anti-intervention, economic conversion and a peace culture," Weiss says. Such a political stance should pose little problem for the SANE membership which already embraces a broad anti-war program and is cultivating a working relationship with Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. It's not clear, however, whether the Freeze will be willing to sign on to a broad and perhaps more politically "left" program.

"That's where we're going to lose . . . some Freeze groups," Gage predicts, "because some of them believe that the Freeze

has been as successful as it has because of its appeal to the middle."

A SANE-Freeze merger is complicated by the fact that Freeze Voter seems to be holding to a single-issue (nuclear arms control) focus, viewing this as the most effective way to change U.S. policy. This raises the possibility that a significant portion of the Freeze's grass roots may choose to affiliate with an expanded Freeze Voter rather than a Freeze-SANE merger group.

DIRECT DEMOCRACY?

While it appears that Freezers will have the most difficulty signing on to the new organization, SANE members and leadership will also have to make some adjustments. Most importantly, the planned group is intended to be more grass-roots oriented than SANE has been in the past.

Though details of the proposed organization remain intentionally vague, commission members have agreed on an outline intended to insure a measure of grass-roots control on policy. Among the agreed-on proposals: the new board of directors should be elected by the membership; broad policy would be addressed at national conventions; and a large field staff would be a permanent fixture of the new organization. This staff would work in support of the grass roots and act as a liaison between national and local offices.

"The agenda will be closer to SANE's, but it will probably have a more broad-based democratic decision-making process," Gage says. "That might be hard [for SANE] to swallow. It's hard to give up power."

It is difficult, and perhaps premature, to judge the response to the merger idea from within SANE and the Freeze. When the Commission requested written comment from the grass roots the reaction was very favorable—but only 46 out of 465 groups responded. (For a look at the grass-roots debate in several states see "Groups Form United Fronts," page 37.)

Some leaders of other groups, meanwhile, suspect that the Commission's longer-term motives involve an attempt to take over the entire peace movement. This has been fueled by discussions within the Commission of the new group evolving into more than just a combination of the Freeze and SANE. Suggestions that the new group take on the name PEACEAMERICA haven't helped to calm these suspicions.

In a July letter to the Commission, David McReynolds, a staff member of the War Resisters League, raised this issue. "[If] what you are taking on is a much broader look at the American peace movement," McReynolds wrote, "I'm troubled—and I think our organization

C.D. Momentum

When members of the American Public Health Association (APHA) commit civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site on September 30 they may be joined by Dr. Bernard Lown, co-president of the Nobel Peace Prize-winning International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). Lown, who will be speaking along with Carl Sagan at APHA's annual convention in Las Vegas, says that he will make a final decision about getting arrested after consulting with other leaders of IPPNW. Speaking just for himself, Lown told NUCLEAR TIMES that halting nuclear testing is critical. "We'll fill the jails of America if necessary to prove our point," Lown said. "Silence now is an act of treason against conscience and humankind." □

will be troubled—that there may be an effort to sell the general public (including the grass roots) the concept that the whole of the peace movement has ‘united,’ when so far as I can find out very little of the peace movement has been consulted.”

Members of other peace groups aren't the only ones complaining about lack of consultation. In a July 19 memo to the Commission, Freeze activists from nine states meeting in Chicago expressed some concerns. “At least one leader of a city-wide Freeze group had not been consulted about the Commission's work before this discussion,” the memo said. “No one,” the note continued, “was aware that discussions were as far along as they appear to be.” Meg Gage acknowledges that the main “criticism we have been receiving has been about not enough people being involved.”

Both Weiss and Nick Carter, the Freeze's co-chair on the Commission, bristle at the suggestion that the Commission is trying to steamroll the local organizations into a merger without grass-roots input and note that all of the proposals are just that: proposals. Both declined even to discuss the specifics of the Commission's work to avoid giving the impression that the plan is a *fait accompli*.

“It's inappropriate for us to say what it's going to be before [the executive committees] have a chance to look at it,” Carter says. Carter also plays down some of the grass roots' concerns, saying “these are anxieties that are prejudging the process without seeing the proposals.”

While the SANE and Freeze leadership mull over the merger, the Commission will send out a team of “traveling listeners” whose role Weiss describes as “interpreting the merger idea” to the grass roots, “listening to their comments,” and “bringing back what they've learned to the Commission.” Merger boosters believe that an up or down vote could take place as early as December when the Freeze is scheduled to hold its National Conference. One of the issues the Commission did not decide, however, was how each group should formally accept or reject a final merger plan. Some members have suggested a massive ratifying convention, others a vote by the executive committee, and still others a referendum. “It's not even clear how we're going to approve or disapprove of this proposal,” Gage says. “The thing is just extremely complicated.”

But Nick Carter remains optimistic. “These are two strong and complementary organizations,” he believes. “At this point in our history it makes enormous sense for us to travel together. We can in fact be more effective and stronger than if we remain separate.” □

Lost In “Amerika”

Groups ready response to TV series

By DANIEL GRUNEBAUM

The storm of controversy generated by the ABC miniseries *Amerika* shows no signs of abating. The 12-hour, \$32-million miniseries starring Kris Kristofferson, Mariel Hemingway and Robert Urich depicts life in the United States 10 years after the Soviet Union has taken over. Hoping that it will help boost the network out of its ratings doldrums, ABC has tentatively scheduled *Amerika* for the key programming month of February.

While ABC readies its promotional plans, filming proceeds under a cloak of secrecy in Canada. ABC Circle Films,



Occupation troops shot in Canada

which is producing the film, the city of Toronto, and the Ontario Film Development Corporation have kept film locations under wraps. ABC reportedly chose to film *Amerika* in Canada to take advantage of lower production costs and to avoid the glare of publicity that would have accompanied filming on location in the United States. (Some scenes were shot in Tecumseh, Nebraska.)

A producer at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, however, reports that

he was able to get a glimpse of a soundstage before it was hidden from view. Max Allen, a member of Media People for Social Responsibility (MPSR), says a mammoth set, located in an abandoned General Electric warehouse, replicated the U.S. Capitol in detail. This was the setting for the climactic scene of *Amerika* in which the Russians machine-gun Congress and dynamite the Capitol. “If you want to see the House of Representatives destroyed by the Soviets,” says Laura Sky, an independent filmmaker in Canada, “come to Toronto.”

But as ABC moves into the final stages of production on *Amerika*, the American peace community is gearing up to confront the film in its finished form. Peace activists, however, face some strategic problems in designing a campaign to combat *Amerika*: they must avoid calls for censorship and they run the risk that a publicity campaign could backfire and draw more viewers to the show.

Some think it would be better simply to ignore the film. Jane Breilis Schirmer, who has helped form a group called Equal Time in Madison, Wisconsin, disagrees. “This is exactly what the right wing wants,” Schirmer says. “If more people see it because it is controversial, at least they will be looking at it from an enlightened perspective.”

After months of inaction—it was not clear until recently that *Amerika* would actually be completed—a multi-pronged response has developed which involves education and discussion, direct action (letter-writing campaigns sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the United Nations Association of the United States of America, and threatened boycotts), and efforts to get alternative views and counter-programming in the media.

COLD WAR FANTASIA?

Activists feel it is imperative to confront *Amerika* effectively because many Americans rely on television as their major source of information. Equal Time believes that “this show, viewed by itself, [will] be a propaganda piece fostering fear and hatred. It cannot help but have a devastating effect on U.S.-Soviet understanding. However, provided with information, people will be able to distinguish between fantasy and fact. Without

accurate information and debate that distinction cannot be made."

An Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) study guide, tentatively titled "Amerika, America, and the Soviet Union: Viewing the Relationship," will allow community discussion groups in over 100 ESR chapters to enlarge on the program's themes and examine the film critically. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is producing a special edition of its "Local Media Briefing Packet" designed to help activists get alternative views into the media. In addition, AFSC will work with teachers, clergy, union leaders, and community groups to organize events such as house meetings, film series, and discussion groups that will promote serious discussion of *Amerika*—and use this occasion to begin advancing an "alternative agenda" for U.S. security.

Equal Time is circulating a petition nationally which demands that ABC provide time for alternative programming. Jane Schirmer says that Equal Time is seeking a discussion panel along the lines of the panel produced by ABC's Viewpoint which followed *The Day After*.

ESR's Pittsburgh chair, Jerold Starr, and Jeff Cohen, coordinator of the media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), have also called for an ABC panel. "This panel," Starr says, "should be as pluralist and progressive as *The Day After* panel was homogeneous and conservative."

Along with Barbara Wien, director of The Real Security Education Project at the Institute for Policy Studies, and Bruce Birchard, co-coordinator of The National Disarmament Program at AFSC, they are inviting key organizers

to a meeting, later this month, that will plan a coordinated response to *Amerika*. Already, reports Wien, substantial financial gifts are being pledged. "The money will be used to hire a media consultant to negotiate with the big boys at ABC," she says.

"A real problem with the peace movement," Cohen believes, "is that it doesn't understand the power of the media. If you don't intervene in the media process, you don't get anything done."

CANADIAN PRESSURE

For weeks Canadian peace groups have been actively intervening in the filming process, calling attention to *Amerika* despite the official veil of secrecy surrounding the project.

Toronto's Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament (PAND) sponsored a panel discussion with *Amerika*'s executive producer, director, and writer Donald Wyre. PAND says that at least 20 actors and actresses have refused to work on *Amerika* on ethical grounds. And a new group called Propaganda Alert has, along with PAND and MPSR, asked the attorney general of Ontario to consider whether *Amerika* is illegal under the Canadian Criminal Code's "anti-hate" propaganda section, based on its portrayal of Russians, blacks, and women. This fall, MPSR will employ professional actors to dramatize segments of the script—and then show American and German propaganda films to highlight similarities.

But Cohen doesn't expect ABC to back off. Noting the success of other Red-scare movies such as *Rambo*, *Rocky IV*, *Red Dawn* and *Invasion USA*, he muses, "There's a lot of money in Soviet-bashing." □

That's Entertainment

From the beginning ABC has insisted that *Amerika* was the brainchild of Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Entertainment, and was not developed as a "conservative" response to the supposedly "liberal" *The Day After*. This argument began to unravel recently when the network confirmed reports that ABC had in fact paid a conservative *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* columnist, Ben Stein, for the rights to develop a film idea offered in his column of October 31, 1983. Stein, a former speech writer for Presidents Nixon and Ford known for his anti-Communist views, wrote: "Here is the idea: Let's have a movie called 'In Red America.' It would be about a few days or weeks in the life of several American families after the Soviet

Union had taken over America."

Now NUCLEAR TIMES has identified the Stein-Stoddard link. The editor of the *Herald Examiner* in October 1983 was Mary Anne Dolan—now Stoddard's spouse. According to ABC publicity spokesman Bob Wright, Dolan brought the Stein scenario to Stoddard's attention. The Stein column specifically calls for his "dear friends at ABC" to balance *The Day After*.

So why has ABC concealed the genesis of *Amerika* for so long? "They wanted it [*Amerika*] to be perceived as entertainment, not as a political statement," Stein told NUCLEAR TIMES. "Since I am identified with a political point of view, they wanted to avoid association with my name."

—D.G.

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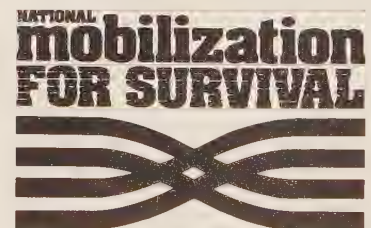
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INFAC Targets GE

Bringing a boycott to life

BY TERESA TRITCH

If all goes according to plan, General Electric (GE), the nation's fourth largest military contractor, will be getting a sizable lump of coal for Christmas this year: the names of 100,000 consumers who have pledged a full-scale boycott of the company's consumer products. According to INFAC, an organization known for tackling corporate abuses, the 100,000 pledges may represent several million dollars in lost consumer sales revenues and other boycott-induced expenses to GE.

Clearly, the viability of the boycott—which calls on GE to cease production, marketing, and promotion of nuclear weapons; stop interfering with government decision making on military matters; and draw up conversion plans—depends on massive grass-roots support. Since singling out General Electric as its exclusive corporate target last October, INFAC has generated 93,000 messages of protest to GE Chief Executive Officer John Welch, Jr., and other key GE executives. At INFAC campaign centers in Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis/St. Paul, and the San Francisco Bay Area, top priority is being given to getting signatures on boycott pledges. INFAC "action committees" in New York City, Cincinnati, St. Cloud, Minnesota, Dubuque, Iowa and other cities have been formed to undertake grass-roots outreach and gather boycott pledges.

Most national peace groups have not yet been approached by INFAC for endorsements. Staff members in several national offices contacted by NUCLEAR TIMES expressed personal support for the boycott and cited INFAC as the right organization for the task. But some said that boycott work would not fit into their legislation-oriented agenda.

Many national groups' local chapters are becoming involved, however. Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) chapters in Orange County, California, Columbia, Missouri and Marquette, Michigan have added boycott activities to their agendas. The Ann Arbor-based Michigan Alliance for Disarmament is coordinating the efforts of 11 peace groups, including the local WAND, SANE and Gray Panthers chapters, who meet weekly to chart boycott

strategy in their area. In Sacramento, California, members of Physicians for Social Responsibility are soliciting pledges.

Individual supporters of the GE boycott include retired Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, who hails the boycott for its role in bringing attention to the profits which he contends are driving the arms race.

At the Jobs with Peace Campaign in Los Angeles, however, which draws heavy support for its initiatives from organized labor, development director Larry Frank raises some possible drawbacks to a boycott strategy. While a boycott of GE provides an "anti-corporate focus that is desperately missing from the peace movement," says Frank, it does not address "job blackmail," whereby the goals of the peace movement are played off against the need for jobs. Still, the boycott of GE, Frank believes, will be a useful tool in "getting the labor movement to take the peace movement seriously."

Further opposition to GE's role in the arms race comes from its own ranks. Speaking at the Washington press conference in June to announce the boycott, Patricia Birnie, chairperson of the GE Stockholders' Alliance Against Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons, a group with a representative in nearly every state, said that stockholders' resolutions and dialogue with corporate management have had "little recognizable effect" in phasing out GE's nuclear businesses.

The boycott of GE differs fundamentally from the seven-year boycott of Nestlé that earned INFAC its reputation as a grass-roots David against formidable corporate Goliaths. "With Nestlé," explains Nancy Cole, INFAC's executive director, "we asked for a change of marketing practices [of infant formula], not of the product itself. With GE, the products [nuclear weapons] themselves are an abuse. They are like the Dalkon Shield. They cannot be used safely. So we're saying, 'Stop making the products.'"

"Also," she continues, "this boycott calls into question the relationship between the corporation and the government. Nestlé didn't."

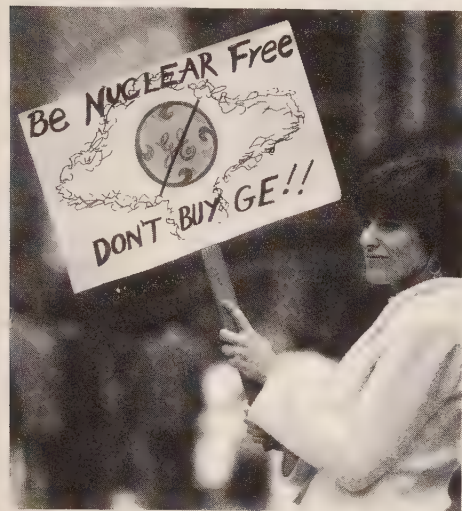
GOOD THINGS ROLE

Although GE is known to millions of Americans as the home appliance man-

ufacturer that "Brings Good Things to Life," in 1984 and 1985, a reported 11.4 percent of the company's \$55 billion business went into nuclear weapons related parts and systems. With a nuclear inventory that has included parts for Trident submarines, reentry vehicles for the Titan II and Minuteman III, and engines for the B-1 bomber, it has been involved in every leg of the strategic triad, and has a hand in more major weapons systems than any other corporation. And GE is presiding at the graduation of the arms race into space by developing the SP-100, an orbiting nuclear reactor.

But beyond its technological expertise, claim INFAC researchers, GE aggressively pursues a relationship with the government, whereby it not only produces but actively promotes nuclear weapons systems and influences policy.

General Electric has masked this relationship behind its "apple pie" image,



Boycott supporter in Boston

INFAC researchers say, and behind the plethora of GE consumer products. To help bring this information to light, INFAC has published "A Public Challenge to the General Electric Company" which presents a litany of corporate/government linkages that go well beyond Ronald Reagan's tenure as company employee during the 1950s. Among them:

- In 1968, two former secretaries of defense, who were then serving on GE's board of directors, authored the Republican national platform commitment urging Nixon to seek "speedy" development of the B-1 bomber. (The Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations had all rejected the B-1.) GE is now one of the major B-1 contractors.

- GE, which holds the lion's share of government contracts for military engines, provides the CIA with official estimates of the cost of Soviet aircraft engines, according to the *Boston Globe*.

Since GE has a vested interest in an expanding U.S. military budget, and Congress tends toward larger military budgets if the Soviet Union also seems to be on a spending spree, it stands to reason, boycott organizers argue, that GE has a vested interest in expanding estimates of the Soviet budget.

- GE maintains a full-time lobbying staff of 120 people in Washington, D.C. where, according to the *Washington Post*, a "small army of corporate specialists mesh a private sector conglomerate with the public sector conglomerate—the U.S. government. The goal is to sell the Washington market much as one would sell the consumer market."

A GE spokesman told NUCLEAR TIMES that he would not comment on INFAC's findings on an "allegation by allegation" basis. Reading from a prepared statement, he reiterated that GE's objective is "peace." The statement asserts that "the number and kinds of arms needed by the U.S. aren't going to be determined by INFAC or GE, but by the U.S. government," and concludes that "GE has decided to participate in the nation's defense activities because we believe it's the right thing to do to support our government."

Many investment analysts who track GE express similar sentiments. "On the surface, GE has been under pressure [from demonstrators and shareholders] for a long time," says Russell Leavitt of Salomon Brothers, Inc., an investment firm in New York City. "But GE believes it has a responsibility to the nation. And its responsibility won't be altered by special interests."

Another analyst says, "My reaction is 'big deal.' Unless the boycott really starts to have severe economic impact on GE, which by definition it can't—because GE is so diverse—nothing will change." This charge, however, is countered by yet another analyst who points out that GE markets its consumer products under only the GE or Hotpoint labels, making it a large and visible (if unwieldy) target.

Amy Domini, investment counselor at Franklin Research and Development in Boston and co-author of the book *Ethical Investing* sees the boycott in a larger context. "The success of the boycott is not measured only, or primarily, by how it affects sales," she says. "The goal is not to cripple GE, but to alter a corporate image that GE has been able to maintain. Its impact is that it puts the issue on the front page. Inherent in this boycott," Domini explains, "is a threat to Wall Street—a threat that business as usual ought to consider the welfare of humankind, that business as usual is about more than money. There is fear about how far this sort of thing is going to go." □

NRDC Wins Test Case

Congress apparently listened to seismic signals from the Natural Resources Defense Council's (NRDC) nuclear moratorium verification project before deciding to pass the amendment to the appropriations bill mandating a one-year moratorium on nuclear testing. Displayed during the recent House debate, the faint white lines, traced on smoke-blackened recording paper, came from the first of three seismic stations now being installed near the main Soviet nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan, U.S.S.R.

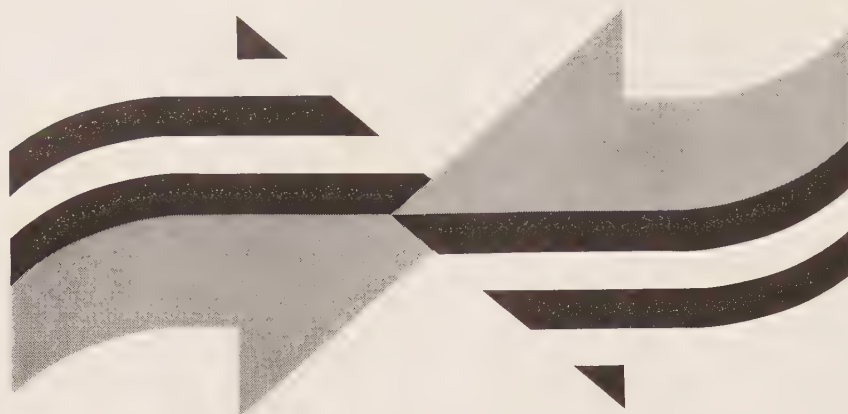
During floor debate, Representative Ed Markey held up the first seismogram from the seismic station, signed by both NRDC and Soviet Academy staff. "These signatures," Markey asserted, "should have been those of Dr. Weinberger, Richard Perle, and Kenneth Adelman." His staff credits NRDC's project with persuading moderates to support the moratorium amendment by demonstrating that a nuclear test moratorium can be verified.

"It's amusing that the free-market Republicans offered the only changes to the legislation," noted Jacob Scherr, co-director of NRDC's Verification Project. "They wanted to assure that governments rather than a private organization would be responsible for verifying the moratorium."

NRDC's project also affected the plans of the recent Five Continent Peace Initiative meeting held in Ixtapa, Mexico. Thomas Cochran, co-director of the NRDC project who acted as technical support to the Five Continent group, said that the verification scheme in the group's latest testing moratorium proposal is "similar to ours, except more elaborate."

Peaceware

PeaceNet, a computer network designed expressly to facilitate communication between peace activists, is off to a flying start. A few months into its first year, PeaceNet has over 700 users and a start-up budget of \$140,000, raised largely through foundation support. By February 1987, PeaceNet expects to have over 3000 users and subscribers. For \$10 a month plus an hourly users' fee that ranges from \$5 to \$10, activists can use data bases, leave messages on a computer "bulletin board," and send electronic mail simply by using their office computer and a modem. For more information call PeaceNet at (415) 486-0264. □



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Making Democracy Work.

Countdown To The Elections

A before and after story

BY JAN H. KALICKI

The topic of arms control and the elections might appear to the cynic to involve two separate considerations with little connection between them. Most of the political rhetoric in 1986 is likely to stress economic issues—or to confirm Speaker O'Neill's dictum that all politics is local. The rhetoric, however, belies some of the more fundamental political realities, both this year and looking toward 1988.

The first reality is that the public-at-large remains deeply concerned about the danger of nuclear war and frustrated by its elected leaders' failure to reduce that danger. The public and its leaders need opportunities to consider together the full range of realistic options for achieving this objective. Preliminary studies in a nonpartisan project sponsored by the Public Agenda Foundation in New York and the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University, indicate local-level support, across the political spectrum, for sharply increased U.S.-Soviet communication and a belief that new approaches on U.S.-Soviet relations are needed if arms control is ever to succeed.

The second reality is that the postures of political leaders, even quite conservative ones, have shifted in response to public concerns. Most members of Congress now support the current arms control negotiations and moves toward a U.S.-Soviet summit, with increasingly isolated "true believers" worrying openly about a presidential sellout of their rigid orthodoxies.

The third reality, however, is that there remains a major gap between arms control politics and arms control policies. Despite all the posturing, a majority of Congress continues to appropriate funds for deployment of destabilizing weapons like the MX, for new generations of bombers and missiles, and for the strategic defense initiative—although at significantly lower levels than requested by the Administration.

That brings us, then, to the challenge of the elections in 1986 and, more importantly, 1988. In 1986, members of Congress can and should be held accountable

not so much for easy "motherhood" votes—for example, on hortatory resolutions regarding SALT and nuclear testing—but for tougher votes which actually limit funding for anti-satellite weapons, offensive weapons which exceed the SALT limits, strategic defense and nuclear tests (contin-



gent on corresponding Soviet restraint). Last month, in an important reversal of Administration policy, the House of Representatives voted for all of these limitations, and the Senate reduced funds for strategic defense. The House action now makes it possible to measure the depth of its members' support for arms control, and it is now possible to begin pressing senators and Senate candidates to support a funding cutoff as well.

Some candidates, of course, will use the excuse that funding cutoffs preempt ongoing negotiations by the Executive Branch. They should be confronted with the facts that hortatory resolutions have not altered the fundamental policies of this Administration, that the cutoffs would only take effect if they were bilateral and verifiable, and that a mutual moratorium is much more likely than the next step in the arms race to lead to true disarmament.

While no one should expect that arms control and defense issues will be a decisive element in this year's election outcome, November 1986 could have a significant impact on policies:

- The prospect of elections does have a concentrating effect on the minds of congressional candidates who do not want to leave light between themselves and their constituencies. Absent the elections the 79-vote margin for the nuclear testing fund cutoff in the House would have been much smaller.

- The elections stimulate the renowned political antennae of the White House to seek more substantive arms control results—for example, the President's recent decision to accept the State Department's position on extending the ABM Treaty, which is more positive than that favored by the Secretary of Defense and his allies in Congress and the Pentagon.

- The outcome of close races involving key arms control supporters could have some impact on the *perceived* political environment for arms control in 1987 and 1988.

In sum, November 1986 will be less important from the arms control standpoint than the actions and events which come both before and after. What matters is not so much the actual *fact* of the election as its *impact*, both before and after November, on politics and therefore on policies.

Looking to 1988, more formidable pressure can hopefully be mounted for effective arms control. To do so requires going beyond the political action committees—which tend increasingly to cancel each other out—and engaging community leaders themselves on issues of substance. Extensive discussions with "local chieftains" (to use Daniel Yankelovich's phrase) indicate that they resist conservative or liberal labels, they dislike the present bifurcation between policies (and parties) of "peace" and "strength," and they look for pragmatic policies to reduce the nuclear threat and to protect our national interests and values over the long term. Republican or Democrat, a candidate who taps this well-spring of substantive common sense will do very well indeed in 1988. □

Jan Kalicki is executive director of the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University and served previously as chief foreign policy advisor to Senator Edward Kennedy. He is a contributing author of Voter Options on Nuclear Arms Policy.

You've Got A Friend

What it means to have allies in Congress

BY RENATA RIZZO

Antinuclear PACs poured millions of dollars into congressional races in 1984, in some cases making the difference between victory and defeat. But now, two years later, what are the successful candidates doing for their arms control constituency? Has movement support guaranteed easy access to legislators? And does this access translate into outright influence?

When Mike Kelly, director of Illinois Freeze Voter, visited Capitol Hill earlier this year he discovered that the reception he got "from those we helped elect was very different from those we didn't." Representatives Richard Durbin and Lane Evans met with Kelly personally. "They remember us," Kelly says, "and they know we'll help again."

This kind of accessibility also has a physical expression. Many members of Congress who receive critical election aid will put in an appearance for almost any type of event, large or small. Senator Paul Simon's appearance at a recent Illinois Freeze Voter fundraising reception drew the attendance of three other candidates. Representative Les AuCoin has signed fundraising letters for antinuclear groups in Oregon, and recently donated a "dinner with Les AuCoin" to an auction for Citizens for a Nuclear Free Oregon. Representative Terry Bruce agreed to be the keynote speaker at a dedication of a peace garden in Illinois. "If we draw 30 or 50 people, that'll be a crowd," said Rick Kubetz, chair of the Champaign-Urbana Freeze Campaign. "But Bruce will show up. He always does."

UNDER THE INFLUENCE

While "showing up" may be one way to gauge movement clout, accessibility is not really the issue: influence is. But in an age when no one wants to be perceived as the property of any pressure group, whether it's the National Rifle Association or Freeze Voter, the question of influence is touchy.

Representative Lane Evans "seeks out peace groups' positions on issues," says his administrative assistant Dennis King. "When Lane's not sure what the right thing to do is, their input is very important." But this is an unusually candid observation. Congressmembers and their

staffs routinely say that they are a step ahead of their peace constituencies. And arms control lobbyists will not usually take credit for planting ideas in legislators' minds. As one lobbyist put it, "We like to make it *appear* like it was their own idea."

Often it is. Peace PACs, as Bob Sherman, AuCoin's legislative assistant, puts



it, "do not so much train horses to be winners as take horses that are *already* winners and give them the money to run the race." But movement PACs hope that their help in close elections will turn friends into leaders who will spearhead their arms control agenda.

Expectations are often met. Senator John Kerry, for example, authored a spending freeze on SDI in 1985, and offered the ASAT moratorium amendment. Paul Simon is helping to lead the fight against SDI in the Senate, and has hired a pro-freeze arms control expert who works closely with the movement. Terry Bruce served as the freshman whip on the MX vote. (Bruce, who was pro-MX during his primary race in Illinois, became a movement convert in part because of briefings with arms control experts arranged by local freeze activists. He now has a perfect arms control scorecard.) George Brown has led the fight against SDI in the House, where Les AuCoin helped lead the ASAT moratorium effort. "We talked to AuCoin about introducing a chemical weapons amendment in the

defense subcommittee," says Council for a Livable World's (CLW) Martin Hamburger. "He did and it won. Of course," Hamburger adds diplomatically, "he was already predisposed to doing it."

But, says Bob Sherman, groups have also called his office and pressed for legislation that AuCoin wasn't enthusiastic about. "He had pressure from the Oregon groups to back the quick freeze," Sherman says. "That was something he had mixed feelings about—but he did back it."

In addition to sponsoring legislation, a friend in Congress can play the invaluable role of peer persuader. "We've got a very good relationship with [Senator Carl] Levin, for example," says John Isaacs, legislative director for Council for a Livable World. "When we talk to him about arms control amendments, we also ask him to go and lobby other members. And he does."

Trusted arms control lobbyists enjoy a productive symbiotic relationship with the members they helped elect. "We can sit in the same room with [Representative Tom] Downey or [Representative Robert] Mrazek," says SANE's Jerry Hartz, "and talk about what legislation will rise to the top and have a chance of passing. Sometimes we're meeting daily with our friends."

The advice of seasoned arms control lobbyists can be helpful to freshmen legislators in particular, laying the groundwork for years of fruitful interaction. "Antinuclear groups helped us to get the lay of the land," says Jonathan Winer, Senator Kerry's counsel and legislative assistant. "They let us know who would help us, and kept us from stepping on people's toes. And they helped prevent off-the-wall amendments from reaching the floor."

But there are glitches in this game of give and take. Representative George Brown and Senator Paul Simon—who both hold near-perfect records on arms control votes—are frustrating the peace movement by refusing to come out against Trident II. Les AuCoin has angered some of his constituents by not introducing legislation addressing health hazards from the Hanford Reservation in Washington state (which spill over into Oregon). In 1984, Senator Dennis DeConcini received considerable PAC money from the Council for a Livable World, says Martin Hamburger, yet "he doesn't vote our way half the time. If we wanted DeConcini to hold a hearing on a test ban—no way." Another beneficiary of CLW funds, Senator Jeff Bingaman, has taken a low profile on nuclear issues, says Hamburger. "We can talk to him, but he has to respond to his electorate, which is more conservative than not," Hamburger says.

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As the Bingaman paradigm illustrates, PAC activity without a strong grass-roots lobbying presence is often a waste of time. Recent movement gains in Congress can be attributed in large part to strong grass-roots pressure. But many local activists blessed with friends in Congress are prone to complacency.

"We've got to constantly interact with Congress, and get involved in all the campaigns—the ones that are close and the ones that are assured," says Freeze Voter Executive Director Chip Reynolds. "We must get our faces in campaign offices and offer credible, dependable assistance."

Stepping up grass-roots pressure is one way to ensure continued influence. Some groups have found ways to "build-in" accessibility before the candidate is even elected. Freeze Voter in Massachusetts, for example, got John Kerry to make a campaign promise to set up an arms control advisory committee made up of local activists. "He honored the promise starting from day one," says Sara Mattes, chair of the board of Massachusetts Freeze Voter. "The advisory group is a good idea," agrees Jonathan Winer, Kerry's assistant. "We talk over ideas and try to solve problems together. It shapes our thinking about where to go."

Council for a Livable World holds regular breakfast meetings for members of Congress, their staffs, and arms control lobbyists. "It's in the interest of staff members to attend these meetings because they're one of the best ways to find out what's coming up on the Hill on arms control and defense issues," says Gordon Kerr, Senator Levin's aide.

Another effective tactic is to have the same people who help elect candidates lobby them. For this reason, many PAC leaders for national groups are also lobbyists (the same holds true for local groups). "Our doors are open to groups anyway," says Ed Long, legislative assistant to Senator Harkin. "But when they've actually *worked* with you on a campaign, your ears tend to open a little more when they come around."

Whether it's to lobby, offer help on a campaign, or just say thanks, the important thing is to "come around," say PAC directors. "Our friends need to know we're there," says one PAC leader, adding that word on the Hill is that lately a key movement convert, Terry Bruce, seems to hear more from his sizable conservative constituency than from the peace movement. "He [Bruce] is freaked out to find himself with a 100 percent record on arms control," the PAC leader says. "He's in a very conservative district, and he's hearing from those people. The problem is we tend not to say very much when we're happy. But people will say a hell of a lot when they're pissed." □

A Matter Of Opinion

BY SUSAN SUBAK

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament's (WAND) Education Fund has just published an extensive analysis of public views of the arms control debate in a booklet called *Turnabout*. SANE has completed a national poll on nuclear testing, and the St. Louis, Missouri chapter of Freeze Voter is planning its third exit poll in the St. Louis area. But that is



about the extent of peace group research on public opinion coming into the fall election. The White House, meanwhile, is spending this month about \$100,000 for the *ninth* time this year to find out what the public thinks about what the President is doing.

There are dozens of nonpartisan polls, of course, done by Gallup, Roper, Harris, the television networks, and leading newspapers. But who is using them? The peace movement isn't, but should be, argues WAND, in order to refine its message and compete more effectively with its rival communicators.

Tom Graham, a political scientist specializing in public opinion research at Harvard, agrees. "Peace groups haven't mastered opinion research and how it relates to strategy," he believes. "Pollsters have become gurus, but it should be democratized." He holds that candidates don't have time to do the research so groups need to do it themselves. "The Committee on the Present Danger did it well," Graham says. "They packaged their hawkish issues well to candidates."

Peace groups who have done some polling think that the effort has at least met more modest goals. "Our polls have probably gotten us more publicity than anything else we've done," said Richard West, publications director at SANE. "It's cheap press," agrees Frank Blechman, director of Freeze Voter in St. Louis. "And it's a good organizing exercise to do it."

One outfit, however, that is an interstice between public views and peace-oriented congressional candidates does not see why advocacy groups should take up polling. "It's expensive—\$12,000 for one pollster for one congressional district," says Russell Hemenway, national director of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. "And most people vote on the basis of economic issues rather than foreign policy issues anyway."

But Ethel Kline, a political scientist at Columbia University who analyzed surveys for the Communications Consortium's new military spending study, says that polls can help to link defense and domestic programs. For example, polls recently conducted by the White House, WAND and all of the networks ranked the nuclear arms race with the federal deficit as America's most serious problem. These issues appear to be linked in the public eye, and support for defense cuts is at a 15-year high.

This shift in opinion, which is confirmed by all national polls, correlates with the growing number of Americans who believe that we are in a position of nuclear parity with the Soviets. In 1986, 54 percent of those polled believed we were even, according to a Gallup poll, as opposed to 32 percent in 1982, the year that passage of freeze resolutions peaked.

Ironically, national polls on the popularity of a nuclear freeze appear to be nonexistent this year. Questions about SALT II come up often, however, revealing how public opinion research follows the news of the day—rather than, as WAND and others advocate, the other way around.

The results of polls on nuclear testing are mixed. SANE's poll conducted by Opinion Research Corporation in April reveals that 80 percent think the superpowers should stop testing "at least until the second summit." The WAND survey and Gallup report that just over half of the public believes that the United States should stop if the Soviets continue not to test. (Interestingly, this view is almost equally popular among Republicans.) But an NBC poll that did not disclose that the Soviets had *already* halted testing, concluded that 55 percent of Americans believe that the United States should *not* go along with the Soviet request to stop testing. □

K E Y R A C E S

Senate

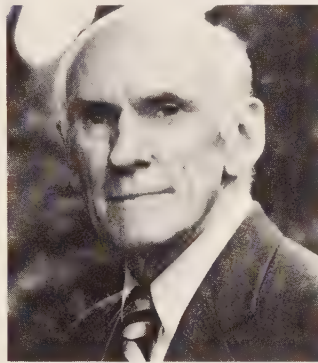
CALIFORNIA: "The fight of [Alan] Cranston's political life" is the way Martin Hamburger of Council for a Livable World (CLW) PAC describes the race against Representative Ed Zschau (R). CLW recently called for funds for Cranston, despite its policy of rarely giving money to candidates in densely-populated states. Republicans view Zschau as the perfect candidate, a well-funded moderate from Silicon Valley who can attract independent and even Democratic voters. He will be helped by popular Governor George Deukmejian at the top of the ticket and by conservative opposition to State Supreme Court Judge Rose Bird, also on the ballot. But Cranston is a scrappy campaigner, many activists note. He put Zschau on the defensive with a pancake breakfast to publicize his flip-flops on the MX, Star Wars, and Contra aid. (Zschau then held his own waffle breakfast.) Everyone agrees money will be the difference in the race. Peace activists believe that fundraising ability and incumbency give Cranston the edge.

COLORADO: One arms control PAC leader calls this the "Star Wars" race. Observers on all sides call the contest for Senator Gary Hart's open seat a "complete toss-up" between Representatives Tim Wirth (D) and Ken Kramer (R). Wirth excites peace groups because of his votes for arms control and against SDI and his ability to appeal to independent and Republican voters in this Republican-leaning state. Conservatives say Kramer, a pro-SDI leader, gained early momentum by heading off a costly nomination fight. But the Republican's recent attempt to pin the break-up of AT&T on Wirth flopped, claim observers. They say Wirth is successfully projecting the image of a politician who can get things done.

IDAHO: With four percent of the electorate undecided, popular two-term Governor John Evans is dead-even with freshman Senator Steven Symms, called "public enemy number one" by peace groups. The two candidates "are playing for a tiny number of undecided voters," says Hamburger—some 9000 out of the 240,000 expected to turn out. Peace activists tout Evan's fundraising and solid organization, but acknowledge that a great campaign is necessary to defeat the well-funded senator in this conservative state. The reaction against a recent Evans campaign letter that car-

ried a nine-year-old picture of Symms with Libyan leader Muammar Kaddafi may have hurt Evans. Though the Idaho peace community is small, three Freeze Corps volunteers are working with the Evans staff.

MISSOURI: The latest Federal Elections Committee report shows former Governor Christopher Bond having slightly out-raised Lt. Governor Harriett Woods (\$2.4 million to \$2.3 million). Polls give Bond an equally slim lead. Woods, who takes strong stands for arms control, went through a rocky period in



Sen. Alan Cranston faces . . .

her campaign; controversial ads that attacked Bond's role in farm foreclosures led to a "parting of the ways" with her pollster and her media consultant. "It happened far enough away [from the elections] to get the house in order," says SANE PAC's Jerry Hartz. Others note that Woods acted decisively in this case and that polls, in any case, show that the ads succeeded. WAND PAC is upgrading its campaign work, and Freeze Voter has three staff members working with Woods. Conservative observers concede that her campaign and fundraising skills make Woods a formidable opponent, but believe that Bond, a popular state-wide politician who is receiving a lot of national GOP money, will be difficult to defeat.

PENNSYLVANIA: A recent analysis in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* predicted that the race between Senator Arlen Specter (R) and Representative Bob Edgar (D), will be decided by two-to-three percentage points, or 60-90,000 votes. Unlike past state elections that have become east-west contests, activists say that

central Pennsylvania will decide this race. In the May primary Edgar showed great strength in Philadelphia, Specter's base, and observers are impressed with Edgar's Pittsburgh organization, much of which is made up of peace activists from SANE PAC and Freeze Voter. Despite a huge bankroll, Specter is vulnerable, claim peace leaders who point to the GOP primary in which an unknown candidate polled 24 percent of the vote. They believe that Specter's sudden moderation on some issues will enhance Edgar's image of integrity. A



. . . Rep. Ed Zschau

proven ability to attract Republican votes, a unified Democratic party, and a strong organization give Edgar a good chance to win.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Considered the best shot for a "turnaround," Representative Tom Daschle's race against Senator James Abdnor (R) is like two incumbents running against each other, since South Dakota has only one congressman. Some conservative observers see Abdnor's decisive, though costly, primary victory over popular Governor Bill Janklow as proving Abdnor's strength, giving him momentum and uniting the party. Others believe that Abdnor is in trouble but his bankroll will save him. Daschle, who leads slightly in the polls, has cornered the important farm economy issue.

WASHINGTON: A conservative observer notes, "The vote on the Manion nomination is going to hurt Gorton." This blunder, in which Senator Slade Gorton (R) claimed he procured a Washington state judgeship in return for his switch of position on the Manion vote (coupled with a spurious claim in an ad that he

had written the popular wilderness bill) may rejuvenate the slow-starting campaign of Brock Adams, former Carter transportation secretary. Adams, who has not lived in the state since he was a congressman in the 1970s, left for China immediately after announcing his candidacy. The "Where is Brock Adams?" slogan may now be replaced with that of "Slippery Slade."

WISCONSIN: WAND PAC, CLW, and SANE PAC have endorsed Ed Garvey, former pro-football union leader, but Freeze Voter is holding back support until the September 9 Democratic primary. This split reflects the division at the local level in which local activists view Garvey and his opponent, State Democratic Chairman Matthew Flynn, as equally strong peace advocates. The national organizations tend to consider Garvey the more "electable" candidate, whereas for local peace activists the choice is not clear and candidate appeal and style are important factors. What they agree on is that Senator Robert Kasten has a poor arms control record and is vulnerable to the "character" issue because of a driving while intoxicated (DWI) charge and the recent indictments of two business partners for business fraud. Republicans claim Kasten defused the DWI scandal by pleading guilty and going to counseling.

CLIPS: Vermont: A 29-point lead makes movement PAC leaders confident that Senator Par Leahy (D) will defeat former governor Richard Snelling who, one conservative observer says, "has not been running an aggressive or successful campaign" . . . North Dakota: Recent allegations of Republican dirty tricks may help State Tax Commissioner Kent Conrad (D), whose aggressive campaign has turned around a race, once labelled unwinnable, with Senator Mark Andrews (R) . . . Maryland: Peace PACs will support either Representative Barbara Mikulski, the front runner, or Representative Michael Barnes, if one of them wins the September 9 Democratic primary. The winner most likely will face Linda Chavez (R), former White House director of public liaison . . . Georgia: Representative Wyche Fowler (D) defeated former Carter aide Hamilton Jordan on August 12 in the Democratic primary, and will try to unseat freshman Senator Mack Mattingly by tying the incumbent to his alleged support for excessive military spending . . . □

IDAHO CD 2: Reagan won 76 percent of the vote here in '84, but a conservative PAC observer believes that freshman Representative Richard Stallings (D), called "the most vulnerable member of Congress" by a peace PAC leader, will improve on his 1984 victory margin of 133 votes. Stallings faces a tight race against radio personality Mel Richardson.

INDIANA CD 8: In a race that all sides say is too close to call, Council for a Livable World's Peace PAC and SANE PAC are giving top priority to Representative Francis McCloskey's rematch against Richard McIntyre, who has been running for this seat ever since his controversial four-vote defeat in 1984. Though McCloskey, who is a key member of the Armed Services Committee, has strengthened his base—by voting more conservatively, claim Republicans—the recent indictment of several Democrats in the state may hurt him. **CD 5:** Although John Gizzi of the conservative Congressional Majority Committee claims that state Senator Jim Butcher (R), with his money and strong Republican backing, "will win by a country mile," peace leaders give state Senator Jim Jontz (D) a good shot to win in this Republican district. They believe the seat will "stick" for a long time to whoever wins, so it is important (they feel) to defeat Butcher, who "quotes the Bible to justify the need for Star Wars," CLW's Martin Hamburger notes.

IOWA CD 3: SANE PAC is giving high priority to state Democratic chairman Dave Nagle, who faces John McIntee in a race for Cooper Evans' open seat. **CD 5:** Peace leaders say that Senator Tom Harkin is building up a strong statewide Democratic machine. He is helping lawyer Scott Hughes in an uphill battle to defeat Representative Jim Lightfoot (R), who won Harkin's seat in 1984 and who is thought vulnerable in this swing district because of the farm crisis. **CD 6:** Retiring Representative Berkeley Bedell (D) "is running [Clayton] Hodgson's campaign as if it were his own," notes one observer. Polls show that his opponent, *Love Boat* star Fred Grandy, has not broadened his slim lead despite months of campaigning. A former Bedell staff member, Hodgson hopes to exploit his ties to the farming community which seems to view Grandy as an outsider in the district, the most Republican one in Iowa.

MARYLAND CD 2: When asked

K E Y R A C E S House

by John Gizzi how her campaign was going, Representative Helen Bentley replied, "How do you *think* when you have an opponent who can write a million dollar check?" Her opponent, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, daughter of the late Robert Kennedy, is supported by SANE PAC and other movement PACs who think that with her charisma, money and excellent staff, she has a shot to defeat Bentley, a 51 percent winner in 1984. But John Gizzi warns that Bentley, a "tugboat Annie" who can "cuss like hell" and who has won the loyalty of



Maryland's Helen Bentley

the maritime industry, will wage a tough campaign.

MICHIGAN CD 3: "If [Jackie] McGregor had a shot at winning against Wolpe, it would have been last time," admits Grace Wiegiers, political director of the Fund for a Conservative Majority. Representative Howard Wolpe (D), who always has a tight race in this Republican district, is supported by WAND PAC and CLW's Peace PAC. WAND has done phone banking and direct mailings for him, in a rematch with McGregor.

MISSISSIPPI CD 2: Movement PAC leaders believe Mike Espey, a black lawyer, has a great shot to unseat Representative Webb Franklin (R) in this 58 percent black district if he can raise enough money. Espey showed his strength by narrowly winning the Democratic primary and avoiding a run-off. Republicans say that excellent constituent services and a racially divided Democratic party will give Franklin, who has never won with more than 51 percent of the vote, the victory he needs.

NORTH CAROLINA CD 4:

Former Duke professor David Price is given a fair shot at unseating conservative Representative William Cobey (R), a freshman congressman who won with 51 percent of the vote in 1984. **CD 9:** Television commentator D.G. Martin lost to Representative J. Alex McMillan, III (R) by 321 votes in 1984. Conservatives say that McMillan is safer this year because Martin is no longer a fresh face and voters will not confuse him with Governor James Martin, who was also on the ballot in 1984. SANE PAC is active in both of these races.



Rep. Les AuCoin

OREGON CD 1: Republicans say that broad constituent services and good stands on high-tech issues will make Representative Les AuCoin (D) difficult to defeat. Peace activists are not taking chances, however, since AuCoin is cited by all as an arms control leader in the House. For the first time, he is running against a popular elected official, state Senator Tony Meeker, a minority leader in the legislature who has ties to business in a district where Republican support is expanding with the high tech industry. Activists fear most a local initiative on federal funding of abortion that could rally Republicans.

PENNSYLVANIA CD 8: SANE PAC has staff working to reelect Representative Peter Kostmayer (D) in his rematch against David Christian, whom he beat in 1984 with 51 percent of the vote. Christian now has the unified backing of the Republican party, but won't be riding President Reagan's coattails this time. **CD 11:** Representative Paul Kanjorski (D), a key member of the Steering and Policy Committee

which decides committee assignments, faces a political "boy wonder," 25-year-old Marc Holtzman, former Pennsylvania Reagan-Bush campaign director. Because of some of his conservative stands, "its hard to get people excited about Kanjorski, but we consider [the race] important," says SANE PAC's Jerry Hartz. Adds Martin Hamburger, "he's as good as they come on arms control." He should win in this heavily Catholic and Democratic district, but no one is taking chances with an opponent who counts President Reagan as a personal friend and has already raised \$700,000. **CD 13:** Will peace activists push Joseph Hoeffel over the top this year against Representative Lawrence Coughlin (R), who has a mixed record on arms control? Hoeffel, touted for his great organization, came from nowhere in 1984 to win 44 percent of the vote. **CD 23:** Bill Wachob, an unknown who polled a surprising 48 percent of the vote in 1984, has a good chance to defeat Representative Bill Clinger in this conservative district. Two SANE PAC organizers and a Freeze Corps volunteer are working for him.

CLIPS: Peace leaders are excited by the chances of Rosemary Pooler, former member of the New York State Public Service Commission, to defeat Representative George Wortley (R), whom she leads by two points . . . Also in New York, WAND PAC gives Louise Slaughter a longshot chance to oust Representative Fred Eckert (R), called a "Reagan rubber stamp" for his unwavering support . . . CLW's Peace PAC and WAND PAC have endorsed Representative Claudine Schneider, a liberal, pro-arms control Republican who is likely to win easily in her heavily Democratic Rhode Island district . . . The seat of Representative Bill Carney (R), the self-proclaimed "first victim of Chernobyl" (the controversial Shoreham nuclear power plant is in his New York district), is likely to fall to former opponent George Hochbrueckner (D), who faces moderate Republican Gregory Blass in the general election . . . In North Carolina Jamie Clarke (D) faces Representative William Hendon (R) whom he defeated in 1982 and then lost to in 1984, both times by two percentage points . . . □

Survey based on interviews with liberal and conservative PAC leaders. NUCLEAR TIMES does not endorse candidates.

Electing Locally

Groups work themselves into a state

BY SUSAN JAMES

Puget Sound SANE, Washington state's largest peace group, broke new political ground this year with a decision to extend election-year support normally reserved for congressional contenders to candidates for the state legislature. Candidates in three races for state seats are getting an extra boost from SANE's six-member staff and dozens of volunteers. SANE members are going door-to-door, phoning to get-out-the-vote, and doing other general campaign work for the candidates. In addition, SANE PAC is contributing financially to the campaign. SANE chose to lend support to five candidates in three districts based on the candidates' stances on arms control issues, the number of SANE members in the district and the candidates' ability to win. If the foray into state campaigns goes as planned, Puget Sound SANE expects to have some loyal allies in Washington, D.C. down the road.

Some peace groups have reacted with "astonishment and questioning looks," reports Puget Sound SANE director, Nanette Westerman. The move into local races, she explains, reflects a new emphasis on long-term planning for this 20,000-member grass-roots citizens lobby. "We're taking a less crisis-oriented response and looking ahead. We'll help them [congressional candidates] get there. When they get there, they'll help us."

Working on the state races is giving

SANE short-term benefits, too. SANE volunteers working on the smaller-scale state races are gaining more skills than they would on a congressional campaign, Westerman notes. "It's a good training ground for someone who's not really ready to jump into a Senate campaign," she says.

Although SANE, through its PAC,



expects to give only modest amounts to the state candidates, those contributions will have a larger impact on the state level, Westerman says. "When you have to raise \$2 million, what's \$100?" she asks. "One hundred dollars in a state race is a huge amount of money." And Westerman believes the state races ultimately

will be a morale booster for SANE staff and volunteers. "We need some wins to keep going," she believes. "With local races, it's easier to make an impact on winning, and it's easier to measure the impact."

SANE already has scored some victories in the state legislature this year. Lobbying by SANE and other peace groups helped convince both state houses to pass a resolution in support of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the first such state measure in the country. "That campaign laid the groundwork for our credibility on a state level, and also helped us learn how state government works," Westerman says, "It was a victory—so we went for more."

The legislature recently took a stand on the state's candidacy as a national nuclear waste repository by placing the controversial issue on the November ballot. If Washingtonians vote against the nuclear dump, as predicted, the state legislature will be in a position to fight if the Hanford Reservation is chosen as a waste repository. Washington state also is the second largest recipient of funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

Although Puget Sound SANE describes its venture into state politics as "an experiment," it expects to continue supporting state candidates—and may even cultivate some of its own for future races. One of this year's SANE-backed candidates, Art Sprenkle, has been active in Physicians for Social Responsibility.

Maryland's Freeze Voter also made the move to local races this year when one of its founders, Dan Jerrems, decided to run for Maryland's House of Delegates. Twenty Freeze Voter volunteers are hosting gatherings, phoning, mailing and putting up signs for Jerrems. "We're encouraging more local activists to consider running themselves, so we become the politicians, instead of just working for them," says Maryland Freeze director Kye Briesath. □

Key Questions

Candidates "shouldn't have to pre-announce their agenda on 5000 issues," says Jonathan Winer, legislative assistant to Senator John Kerry. But office-seekers swamped with lengthy questionnaires from public interest groups may find a new peace initiative refreshing. This questionnaire is short and simple. A check next to three statements will register the candidate's support for a freeze on spending for the Strategic Defense In-

itiative; the United States abiding by SALT II limits as long as the Soviet Union does likewise; an end to U.S. nuclear weapons testing as long as the Soviet Union refrains from testing (and a resumption of negotiations for a comprehensive test ban treaty).

"It's a high profile effort," says Michelle Robinson, legislative assistant at the Council for a Livable World (CLW), which is spearheading the project along with Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) and the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control. "We wanted to get grass-roots activists more involved in the elections and

bring arms control to the forefront and also help us get information on where the candidates stand."

Organizers hope questionnaires will reach every Senate and congressional candidate. They plan to divide the labor between several national peace organizations, that will send questionnaires to Senate candidates, and local groups that will handle congressional office-seekers. A central Washington, D.C. office will then tally the information and act as a clearinghouse. Results will be widely disseminated via advertising in national and local media.

—David Wofford

Nuclear Times

Reader Survey

Dear Reader: Your responses to the following questions are very important to us. They will enable the staff of *Nuclear Times* to shape the future editorial content of this magazine to better suit your needs and interests. And, in giving us a better understanding of your individual interests and activities, you will be helping to strengthen the financial stability of this magazine by enabling us to sell more advertising and to promote the publication to a broader range of individuals. All answers are strictly confidential—do not write your name on this survey. In most cases a ✓ mark will suffice; in a few areas it will be necessary for you to write in your answer. When you have completed it, please fold it where indicated and tape it shut. Please assist us in improving *Nuclear Times* by taking the time to fill out this survey completely. Thank you.

I. Readership

1. How did you first learn about *Nuclear Times*?

a. Word of mouth ☐

b. Newsstand/Bookstore ☐

c. Political Organization/Meeting ☐

d. Promotional Mailing/Free Copy ☐

e. Advertisement in another publication ☐

f. Other _____

2. Did you subscribe directly to *Nuclear Times* or are you receiving your copy through your membership to an organization?

a. Receive through membership in an organization ☐

b. Direct subscriber ☐

c. Don't know ☐

3. How many of the last 3 copies of *Nuclear Times* have you read or looked through?

a. Every issue (3 out of 3) ☐

b. 2 out of 3 ☐

c. 1 out of 3 ☐

d. 0 out of 3 ☐

4. On the average how much time do you spend in total, reading each issue of *Nuclear Times*?

a. 5+ hours ☐

b. 3-4 hours ☐

c. 1-2 hours ☐

d. Under an hour ☐

5. How many people, other than yourself, usually read your copy of *Nuclear Times*? _____

6. Which of the following have you done as a result of reading *Nuclear Times*?

a. Recommended that a friend or organization subscribe ☐

b. Taken a copy to your local library or bookstore ☐

c. Sent a gift subscription to a friend or relative ☐

d. Used material from it in a public presentation, class, report or newsletter ☐

e. Discussed an article or referred someone else to it ☐

f. Used ideas from *Nuclear Times* in organizing a group or event ☐

7. Which of the following have you done as a result of reading an advertisement in *Nuclear Times*?

a. Purchased a product or service advertised ☐

b. Sent for more information about a product or service ☐

c. Recommended the purchase of a product or service to someone else or your organization ☐

d. Sent in a coupon, sent for a catalog or ordered something by phone ☐

e. Clipped out an ad for future reference ☐

8. Does *Nuclear Times*:

a. Help you in organizing around preventing nuclear war? 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

b. Help you understand causes and effects of the arms race? 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

c. Help you envision solutions for reversing the arms race? 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

9. Which of the following types of articles would you like to see more of in *Nuclear Times*?

a. Nuts & bolts of organizing/"how-to" tips ☐

b. Legislation & lobbying ☐

c. News & current events of movement activities ☐

d. Explanation of weapon systems and treaty negotiations ☐

e. Commentary & analysis of movement's current status and history ☐

f. Strategies and long term solutions to the arms race ☐

g. Maintain present balance ☐

10. What issue areas would you like to see us cover more?

11. How often do you read the following sections? (Please check all appropriate lines)

	Always	Sometimes	Never
a. Letters	_____	_____	_____
b. Early Warnings	_____	_____	_____
c. Nuclear Culture	_____	_____	_____
d. National	_____	_____	_____
e. Cover	_____	_____	_____
f. Forum	_____	_____	_____
g. Star Struck	_____	_____	_____
h. Research & Analysis	_____	_____	_____
i. The Other Side	_____	_____	_____
j. Interactions	_____	_____	_____
k. Grassroots	_____	_____	_____
l. Ideas That Work	_____	_____	_____
m. Resources	_____	_____	_____
n. Notes from Abroad	_____	_____	_____
o. Calendar	_____	_____	_____

12. What suggestions do you have for improving this magazine? (Please use separate sheet and envelope if necessary.)

II. Political Profile and Opinion

13. What is your involvement, if any, with an organization involved in the prevention of nuclear war?

- a. Dues paying member/contributor ☐ c. Paid Staff person ☐ e. None of the above ☐
 b. Volunteer/activist ☐ d. Elected officer/Board member ☐

14. With which organization(s), if any, are you affiliated? _____

15. Are you actively involved with environmental issues, e.g. nuclear power, toxic waste, endangered species, etc.? a. Yes ☐/Issue_____ b. No ☐

16. Are you actively involved with civil and human rights issues, e.g. women, gay/lesbian, minority, etc.? a. Yes ☐/Issue_____ b. No ☐

17. Are you actively involved with other U.S. foreign policy issues, e.g. intervention in Central America, apartheid in South Africa, conflict in the Middle East, etc.?
 a. Yes ☐/Issue(s)_____ b. No ☐

18. Would you favor more coverage in *Nuclear Times* of other issues such as Central America, human rights, social justice or other foreign policy issues, even if it meant cutting some coverage of nuclear weapons issues?

- a. Yes ☐/Issue(s)_____ b. No ☐

19. If you are a registered voter, with which of the following political parties are you registered?

- a. Democratic ☐ c. Independent ☐ e. Not a registered voter ☐
 b. Republican ☐ d. Other (please specify)_____

III. Personal

20. What is your age? a. Under 18 ☐ c. 25-39 ☐ e. 55-65 ☐
 b. 18-24 ☐ d. 40-54 ☐ f. 65 and older ☐

21. What is your sex? a. Male ☐ b. Female ☐

22. What is your marital status? a. Married ☐ b. Single ☐

23. Do you have children, and if so what are their ages? a. Yes ☐/Ages_____ b. No ☐

24. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed to date?

- a. High School ☐ c. College (BA, BS) ☐ e. Doctoral (PhD) ☐
 b. Trade/technical school ☐ d. Post Graduate (MA, MS) ☐ f. Other (MD, JD) ☐

25. Are you currently employed? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

26. In what kind of occupation are you currently employed?

- a. Communications, advertising, publishing ☐ f. Education ☐
 b. Construction (skilled laborer, technician) ☐ g. Non-profit ☐
 c. Business/Manufacturing ☐ h. Sales (wholesale, retail) ☐
 d. Government ☐ i. Transportation ☐
 e. Health Services ☐ j. Other_____

27. What is your household income?

- a. Under \$15,000 ☐ d. \$25,000-\$34,999 ☐ g. \$75,000-\$99,999 ☐
 b. \$15,000-\$19,999 ☐ e. \$35,000-\$49,999 ☐ h. \$100,000 and over ☐
 c. \$20,000-\$24,999 ☐ f. \$50,000-\$74,999 ☐

28. Which best describes your primary residence? **Own:** a. House ☐ b. Condo/Co-op ☐ c. Other ☐
Rent: d. House ☐ e. Apartment ☐ f. Other ☐

29. What is the state and zip code where you live? State_____ Zip_____

IV. Leisure Time Activities

30. In an average week, how much time do you spend reading books?

- a. 10 hours ☐ c. 5 hours ☐ e. 1-2 hours ☐
 b. 8 hours ☐ d. 3 hours ☐ f. Under an hour or not at all ☐

31. Approximately how much money do you spend on books each month?
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| a. \$50 <input type="checkbox"/> | c. \$20 <input type="checkbox"/> | e. \$5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. \$35 <input type="checkbox"/> | c. \$10 <input type="checkbox"/> | f. Under \$5 or none at all <input type="checkbox"/> |

32. Which of the following categories of books do you read? (please check appropriate lines)

	Mainly	Sometimes	Seldom
a. Alternative lifestyles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Environmental/Ecology	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Fiction/Poetry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. History	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. International affairs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Nuclear weapons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Nuclear power	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Psychology	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Religious/Spiritual	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Science	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. U.S.-Soviet relations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. What type of music do you listen to most frequently?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| a. Classical <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Opera <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Country <input type="checkbox"/> | f. Folk <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Rock 'n Roll/Punk/New Wave <input type="checkbox"/> | g. Oldies (Fifties, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Jazz <input type="checkbox"/> | h. Religious <input type="checkbox"/> |

34. Approximately how much money did you spend in the past six months on prerecorded music (i.e. record albums, cassette tapes, compact discs)?

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. \$500+ <input type="checkbox"/> | c. \$150 <input type="checkbox"/> | e. \$25 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. \$250 <input type="checkbox"/> | d. \$75 <input type="checkbox"/> | f. None <input type="checkbox"/> |

35. Which of the following activities did you or a household member participate in during the past twelve months?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| a. Backpacking <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Gardening <input type="checkbox"/> | i. Bicycling <input type="checkbox"/> | m. Hiking <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Boating <input type="checkbox"/> | f. Jogging/Running <input type="checkbox"/> | j. Camping <input type="checkbox"/> | n. Scuba diving <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Canoeing <input type="checkbox"/> | g. Snow skiing <input type="checkbox"/> | k. Climbing <input type="checkbox"/> | o. Swimming <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Fishing <input type="checkbox"/> | h. Tennis <input type="checkbox"/> | l. Golf <input type="checkbox"/> | p. Yoga <input type="checkbox"/> |

36. Did you attend any of the following in the past twelve months?

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. Museum <input type="checkbox"/> | c. Concert <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Opera <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Ballet <input type="checkbox"/> | d. Live theatre <input type="checkbox"/> | f. None <input type="checkbox"/> |

V. Miscellaneous

37. Approximately how many trips have you or a household member taken outside the continental U.S. in the past three years?

- a. None b. 1-5 c. 6-10 d. 11-15

38. Are you planning a trip outside the U.S. within the next two years and if so, to where?

- a. Yes ☐/Country(ies) _____ b. No ☐

39. Are you interested in learning a foreign language? a. Yes ☐/Language _____ b. No ☐

40. In purchasing items for yourself or your family, do you try to avoid synthetic products, e.g. polyester clothing, plastic household goods, preservatives in food?

- a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

41. In making purchasing or investment decisions, do you avoid companies whose investments or business practices are in conflict with your political/social values? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

42. Please list other magazines or journals you read regularly:

43. Do you ever shop in health food stores? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

44. Which of the following do you or a household member now own or plan to buy within the next twelve months:

	Now Own	Plan to Buy
a. Stereo system	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Car stereo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Video cassette recorder (VCR)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. 35 mm. camera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Tape recorder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Personal computer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Woodburning Stove	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Passive solar system	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Active solar system	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Hydroelectric generator	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Solar greenhouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. None	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Three Ballot Initiatives

New phase for propositions?

No-First-Use

BY SUSAN JAMES

George Tomlin was an Army soldier stationed in West Berlin when he learned that the United States was poised to strike first with nuclear weapons if it came under attack in Europe. "I realized something was really wrong here," Tomlin recalls. A decade later, Tomlin is heading up a campaign that will put the first-use, or "flexible response," nuclear weapons policy before 100,000 voters in Tacoma, Washington.

Tacomans for No First Use of Nuclear Weapons, a community steering committee organized by the Tacoma peace group Sixth Sense, collected more than 4000 signatures to place a "no-first-use" citizens' initiative on the November 4 ballot. Proposition #1 calls on the city of Tacoma to petition the area's congressional representative, Norm Dicks, and Senators Slade Gorton and Dan Evans to introduce resolutions calling upon the President to make no-first-use of nuclear weapons official U.S. policy. This is only the second time that no-first-use has been placed on the ballot anywhere. (Voters in Boulder, Colorado passed a no-first-use resolution in 1985.)

Tomlin expects the measure to pass: a poll last fall found 81 percent of Tacomans not only supported a no-first-use policy, but believed the United States already has pledged not to launch its weapons first. That percentage mirrors results of national polls.

"People are beginning to realize that we have a policy that would be madness to carry out," Tomlin says. "Most people know we used nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and many people know we've threatened to use them on other occasions. But people are very surprised that some of the occasions have been over some very inconsequential pieces of real estate—like the islands off the coast of China. Then they realize that we've had a very cavalier attitude toward nuclear weapons." The initiative states that the people of Tacoma "have the responsibility" to help prevent nuclear war.

A city heavily influenced by the presence of three nearby military installations, Tacoma isn't used to "far-reaching

grass-roots proposals," Tomlin says. "We thought no-first-use would have a lot of attraction for people that the freeze wouldn't have." Unlike the freeze or a nuclear free zone measure, the no-first-use campaign probably wouldn't have any effect on the local economy, and doesn't require supporters to understand the intricacies of nuclear weapons.



"No-first-use looks at *why* we have nuclear weapons and in what situations the United States is intending to use them," says Tomlin, a college professor and president of Sixth Sense. And although most of the campaign team, which includes several retired military officers, favor a reduction in conventional forces, the proposition itself makes no statement on overall defense policies.

Campaign organizers are working to attract members of the military community to a September 24 talk by retired Navy Vice Admiral John Lee, an outspoken critic of first use. Lee, who serves on the advisory board of the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, is in the company of a growing number of high-level officials. In the August issue of *The Atlantic* an influential group of 10—including Paul Warnke, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Gerard Smith and George Kennan—urged the United States to abandon its first use policy.

Representative Dicks, who has been reluctant to give the Tacoma campaign

a full endorsement, would probably support a resolution that tied a no-first-use policy to an increase in conventional forces, according to Terry Freese, an aide to Dicks. "To have a credible no-first-use policy you must raise the threshold, and the way to raise the nuclear threshold is to increase conventional forces in Europe," Freese says. Dicks already has taken steps to beef up conventional forces by supporting an amendment brought before the House Armed Services committee in late June which redirected \$300 million intended for the Strategic Defense Initiative to a "Conventional Defense Initiative."

Senators Gorton and Evans haven't taken a position on first use. Gorton reportedly responded to one inquiry with a flip "What? Do you want to have the draft again?"

The first use issue also is receiving increased scrutiny from Washington state's legal community, which has been questioning the constitutionality of a policy that gives the executive branch the authority to order first use of nuclear weapons. "If you believe that any use of nuclear weapons is very likely to escalate into nuclear war that could bring destruction to the United States, then any use of nuclear weapons is tantamount to declaring war," Tomlin says. "No matter where it [a nuclear explosion] occurred, we would be affected by the fallout." In September, the Washington State Bar Association, which is holding a luncheon for Vice Admiral Lee, will vote on a resolution calling for U.S.-Soviet negotiations on the first use issue. The measure goes a step further than the Tacoma campaign, encouraging a *reduction* in conventional forces and the creation of a nuclear free zone in Europe. □

Test Ban/Arms Cuts

BY ALEX MILLER

"There is a parallel between these ballot initiatives and the early freeze measures," says David Schmidt, executive director of the Initiative Resource Center in Washington, D.C. "Once again, rural Massachusetts is voting on a new idea to reverse the arms race." Anti-nuclear groups in three areas of the state have placed measures on the ballot that call for a halt to U.S. nuclear testing and an immediate one percent, unilateral reduction in U.S. nuclear forces—to be followed by gradual, verifiable, mutual reductions in U.S. and Soviet forces until 99 percent of nuclear weapons are eliminated by the year 2000. The 1982 freeze initiatives merely called for a halt to the

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"VALUABLE RESOURCE"...
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Social Responsibility

"REMARKABLE"... Helen Redding,
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arms race.

The initiatives in Massachusetts qual-
ified in one state senatorial district (as
opposed to three in the first round of the
freeze campaign). In the 36th senate dis-
trict, an area which helped launch the
freeze (it includes the towns of Amherst
and Northampton), activists from the
American Friends Service Committee and
a local group called Resources for Peace
collected more than 800 signatures above
the required number of 1200. The initia-
tive has also definitely qualified in two
state representative districts (one of which
includes the towns of Barnstable and
Sandwich on Cape Cod). And it will prob-
ably make the ballot in two other state
representative districts in the central part
of the state where activists have gathered
more than the required number of signa-
tures to qualify (approval is pending).

Inspiration for the ballot initiative
came largely from Schmidt, who says that
many of the local groups had completed
work on local test ban campaigns and
were looking for a new election device.
But if the early national freeze wave failed
to halt the arms race, why launch another
grass-roots initiative campaign—this
time with even loftier goals? "Personally
we'd rather be doing something active,
like a referendum, than something like
a peace day which is passive," says De-
borah Kulkula, who helped coordinate
the effort in central Massachusetts. The
ultimate goal, says Schmidt, is to increase
the movement's visibility in the media
and "put disarmament on the 1988 elec-
tion agenda." □

Military Spending

BY MARC COOPER

In November the people of Los Angeles
will have the chance to vote directly
against the Reagan military buildup.
Thanks to the Jobs with Peace (JwP)
Campaign, the voters can call into exist-
ence an "advisory development council"
whose job it will be to recommend how
the city's \$40 billion in public and pri-
vate pension investment funds can be,
whenever prudent, funneled away from
military projects and towards more pro-
ductive and humane programs.

The latest JwP initiative was certified
this summer after its supporters turned
in nearly 140,000 petition signatures.
This year's drive is a follow-up to the
highly successful JwP campaign of 1984
when, for the first time since 1939, a
citizens' initiative was placed on the bal-
lot here. In spite of the Reagan landslide,
it was approved by 61 percent of the city
voters. That ordinance required the city
to issue annual accountings of how much

of local taxes went to support the military
and how the money might be better spent
on human services. The city set aside
\$80,000 to conduct that study, which
has been bogged down in red tape. It
was finally commissioned only this sum-
mer and will not be out until after the
November election.

JwP's success in getting both initia-
tives onto the ballot within a two-year
period has drawn the attention of activist
groups throughout the state. The
139,000 signatures gathered this year
more than doubled the amount required
by the city and is 30,000 more than any
other citizen initiative ever submitted.
The organizing, however, has been done
on a shoe-string budget, fueled primarily
by volunteer signature gatherers.

The key to success has apparently been
JwP's ability to mold a city-wide coal-
ition of activists. The campaign has
fashioned a three-legged base of peace,
civil rights, and labor groups (some 86
unions have endorsed JwP) that have, in
turn, organized a "precinct network."
JwP staffers have combed voting pre-
cincts in many parts of the city, including
the primarily black south-central section
of Los Angeles, and have recruited ordi-
nary citizens who commit a set number
of hours to JwP organizing in their own
neighborhoods.

JwP precinct work is meticulous. Staf-
fers talk to voters in targeted areas, where
efforts are aimed primarily at influencing
the occasional, and ideologically unde-
cided, voter. "It makes no sense to spend
our resources on people either dead-set
against us or who never vote," says Larry
Frank, a member of JwP's executive
board. "We also don't need to keep preach-
ing to the choir," he adds. In each or-
ganized area, precinct leaders are selected
who sign "contracts" that pledge them
to a determined organizing timetable be-
fore the November vote.

The organizing of previously lackadais-
ical voters into progressive neighbor-
hood committees has also gotten the en-
thusiastic support of some local politi-
cians who see a new source of electoral
backup in the precinct network. Endorse-
ments have come from City Councilmen
Robert Farrell and Mike Woo, from out-
spoken state Assemblywoman Maxine
Waters, and from school board member
Jackie Goldberg. Liberal candidates hope
to cash in on the JwP network. California
State Supreme Court Justice Rose Bird
and two of her colleagues face an uphill
reconfirmation vote, and Los Angeles
Mayor Tom Bradley is running behind in
the polls in his bid to unseat Governor
George Deukmejian. "Too often we see
our most ambitious activists working on
opposite sides of issues—maybe this time
we can all work together," says Frank. □

Accidents Will Happen

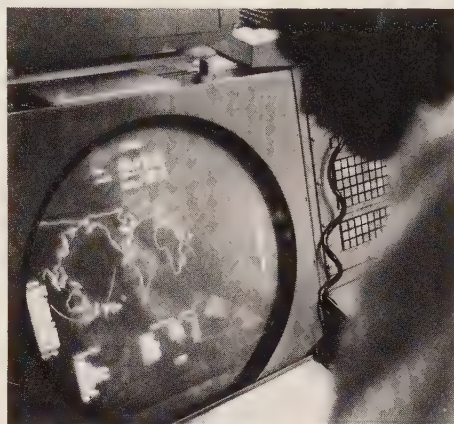
Scholars study ways to reduce risk of nuclear war

BY DAVID KAPLAN
AND SUSAN SUBAK

Accidental nuclear war grows more likely each year, and appears inevitable if current conditions do not change. That is the conclusion of a growing number of scholars, defense analysts and peace activists. The general public seems to agree as well. An opinion poll taken by The Public Agenda Foundation in 1984 revealed that 69 percent of the public thought the most likely way a nuclear war would start is by mistake.

In response to this growing concern, scholars are studying the issue in greater numbers, and the U.S. and Soviet governments are taking tentative steps to decrease the odds that nuclear war would start through false alarms, faulty communication, or lack of information.

At the Geneva summit, the superpowers agreed in principle to upgrade the "hot-line" so that more information can be loaded onto the system in a shorter period of time and both sides can benefit more readily from foreign intelligence. U.S. and Soviet delegations have met several times since last fall to discuss an agreement, an outgrowth of Senators Sam Nunn and John Warner's three-year-old



Tracking objects in space at the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) in Colorado

effort to establish nuclear risk reduction centers in Washington and Moscow. These centers would be used to train crisis prevention teams and to create a channel separate from the "hot-line," allowing Soviet and U.S. military officials to talk to each other directly.

The research community generally agrees that the chances of an accidental nuclear war have been increased by technological changes, such as the growing automation of strategic weapons sys-

tems and the suspected move to a launch-on-warning mode. Researchers further stress that these destabilizing trends are exacerbated as the tensions between the superpowers grow. To address the growing concerns over accidental nuclear war, several conferences have been held or are planned. One of the most recent—The Conference on the Dangers of Accidental Nuclear War—took place in late May at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver.

The Vancouver conference, which was funded by the Canadian government, attracted a wide range of experts, including more than 50 computer scientists, physicists, political activists and defense analysts, including Lt. General Mikhail Milstein from the Soviet Institute for the Study of the U.S. and Canada. (The U.S. State Department declined to send a representative, citing the Soviet presence at the conference.)

An accidental war is most likely to start during a crisis, most conferees agreed. Most researchers believe that during a period of low tension the layers of locks and safety links on the system would inhibit accidental or unauthorized use. But considerable concern focused on the possibility that during a crisis the controls would be removed; the command

Research Studies ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR

Bruce Blair of the Brookings Institution and Cornell's Kurt Gottfried are editing a book to be published next year by Oxford University Press. They propose that the United States abandon its reliance on a launch-on-warning mode, and negotiate constraints on strategic forces.

David Singer at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor is exploring ways to head off an impending crisis before the "hot-line" is needed.

Dr. Martin Hellman at Stanford University is using statistics to demonstrate that nuclear war is inevitable, despite the public's illusion that

nuclear war can't happen.

Daniel Frei of the University of Zurich in Switzerland and author of *Risks of Unintentional Nuclear War* is estimating the range of damage to be expected from the outbreak of an accidental nuclear war or warning shot. He argues that it is most important to identify the risk factors of weapons technology and command and control systems affected by acute international crises as opposed to situations of "normalcy."

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility in Palo Alto, California, argue that critical decisions would most likely be made on the basis of satellite data alone, because the electromagnetic pulse overblast would interfere with strategic warning systems. They say that a Star Wars

system would decrease decision time to two-to-three minutes. Because there would be no time for human intervention, the nuclear war button would be controlled by computer systems. They are also exploring the unreliability of large scale computers, satellite systems, and electronic components.

Barbara Leonard of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee, and Dr. Bill Rosenberg, of the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, are also experimenting with computerized mathematical models. If both superpowers establish a permanent launch-on-warning policy, using conservative assumptions, there would be at least a 50 percent chance of an accidental nuclear war occurring within one year, they allege. □

system could then run out of control and respond automatically to false alerts.

Sharply declining flight times during the past 20 years have pushed both superpowers toward a launch-on-warning posture, according to a number of panelists. Response times today range from just six to 14 minutes because of the deployment of Pershing II missiles in Europe and closer patrols by Soviet submarines off U.S. coasts. This shortened response time may have made it impossible to properly evaluate decisions. "You simply can't push information up and down the command structure quickly enough," argued Henry Thompson, head of the Artificial Intelligence Programme at the University of Edinburgh.

Command and control expert Bruce Blair concurred. "It's not clear there's any decision time at all," observed Blair, a former Minuteman ICBM launch officer. "Even with better early warning technology, you still can only buy five, 10 or maybe 15 minutes of time, and my experience is that's just not enough to make a rational decision."

New technologies, particularly those involving Star Wars weaponry, will demand further automation and even faster response time. Several analysts, including Severo Ornstein of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility, argued that a space-based defense threatens to cut decision time to as little as one minute because enemy missiles must be detected and shot down during their boost phase.

The software required in early warning



Minuteman missile silo operator turns launch key in an exercise at Ellsworth Air Force Base, South Dakota

systems ensures continued false alerts, according to computer experts present. "The software, even at top performance, will always have false alerts," explained David Horwood, a Montreal designer of software for large complex systems. "It's called pattern recognition software, and there's always an associated error rate. Different events must be classified as a missile being launched or not."

The danger posed by flaws in the U.S. warning system is compounded by failures in foreign nuclear attack weapon systems. A French researcher, Michel Haag, presented findings that 25 nuclear-capable French jets have crashed since 1965. (Earlier data, from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, cited only four possible accidents.) Lt. General

Milstein, formerly with the Soviet General Staff, pleaded ignorance when asked about false alerts in Soviet warning systems, but hinted at problems. "The technology does not give you 100 percent reliability," he stressed.

In the wake of the Bhopal, Challenger, and Chernobyl disasters, conference members were keen to seize upon human error as a key factor. University of Texas professor Lloyd Dumas presented disturbing findings on human reliability in nuclear weapons programs, including high rates of stress, drug use and alcoholism in the U.S. and Soviet militaries. Dumas suggested that the psychological testing used to screen personnel in the U.S. nuclear weapons program may be useless.

Several computer scientists presented their findings on computer models of the chances of an accidental nuclear war beginning. The models, inspired by the work of Romanian mathematician Bernard Bereanu, factor in such key variables as the number of crises per year; missile flight times; response times; and numbers of false alerts per year.

If conservative numbers are factored into the models, the probability is high that the world will survive for over 100 years. If, however, there are a growing number of crises and continuing numbers of false alerts, the scenario looks quite different. Warned software specialist David Horwood. "If the model is rigorous and accurate, early in the 21st century we have an accidental war."

Because submarine-launched missiles pose the biggest threat to U.S. decision

RESOURCES

- The transcript from the Vancouver conference is available from Professor Michael Wallace, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, Vancouver B.C. V6T 1W5.
- *International Accidental Nuclear War Prevention Newsletter* is published four times a year by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 1187 Coast Village Rd., No. 123, Santa Barbara, CA 93108 (805) 969-9137. The Nuclear Age Peace Foundation is encouraging countries to establish their own accidental war assessment centers. Academics and researchers in 10 countries have expressed an interest.
- "Accidental Nuclear War: A Real and Rising Risk," *Defense Monitor*; Summer 1986. Published by the Center for Defense Information, 1500 Massachusetts Av. N.W., Washington, DC 20005.
- Ellen Meyer, *Preventing Accidental War: A Citizen's Guide*, Nuclear

Negotiation Project, Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA 02138, Sept. 1985.

- *Preventing the Final Mistake*, a 15-minute video on crisis control made by Search for Common Ground with William Ury of Harvard University's Nuclear Negotiation Project. Available from the Negotiation Project at Harvard Law School, Cambridge MA 02138.

- Brian Crissey, a former computer modeller for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and now a member of the faculty at Linfield College in Oregon, has designed a model to predict when a war could most likely start. His "Expected Planetary Lifetime Model," along with several statistical expectation models, is adapted for use on Macintosh computers, and is available by writing to him at Linfield College, McMinnville, OR 97128.

- "Who's Minding the Missiles?" by Stanford's Herbert Abrams, appeared in the July/August issue of *The Sciences*

magazine, 2 E 63rd St., New York, NY 10021.

- *The Nuclear Time Bomb: Assessing Accidental Nuclear War Dangers Through the Use of Analytical Models*, by Dean Babst and Robert Aldridge, available from the Peace Research Institute at 25 Dundana Av., Dundas, Ontario, Canada L9H 4E5. A 12-page summary is available free from the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 1187 Coast Village Rd., Suite 123, Santa Barbara, CA 93108.

- The California-based Microsecond group and New York's Fund for Peace are planning to sponsor an accidental nuclear war conference in late fall. For details, contact Norman Fleishman, PO Box 2602, Malibu, CA 90265.

- The Center for Defense Information, along with the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and the Fund for Peace, is organizing a major international conference on accidental nuclear war to take place in Washington in the spring of 1987. □

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time, among the solutions offered were to pull those vessels away from enemy coastlines, and establish joint submarine "sanctuaries" off the coast of Brazil—or another remote area. This would at least double flight time. Also proposed was the creation of crisis control centers in Washington and Moscow, related "confidence building measures," and a rapid, concerted program of mutual disarmament. Some analysts argued for a strengthening of command and control facilities, and virtually all agreed on the need to assert the maximum civilian control possible over authority to launch a nuclear attack.

Trinity Days

In Santa Fe, near the site of the first nuclear test, an unusual gathering took place in June. The Trinity Conference, sponsored by a number of community groups in New Mexico, engaged a prestigious group of policymakers (including Senator Pete Domenici and Governor Toney Anaya) and academics in several days of discussion on national security questions. Experienced mediators often helped a diverse group of panelists find common ground, at one point bringing Richard Pipes, author of "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Can Fight and Win a Nuclear War," in agreement with liberal arms control scholar Elise Boulding on the need to rely less on military solutions. The conference was the first project of the new Trinity Forum which plans to train citizen diplomats and continue to bring together leaders of diverse views to find common solutions to the nuclear dilemma.

Over Prepared

"Overarmed nations," those with the highest per capita expenditures for arms, are 30 times more likely than "underarmed nations" to be involved in an international war, is an equation derived by Alan Newcombe of the Peace Research Institute at Dundas, Ontario (Canada). In his studies, which examine wars that occurred from 1950 to 1982, Newcombe uses "Tensiometers," a procedure that he has been developing since 1969 that utilizes formulas based on mathematical indicators to predict wars. Newcombe's findings have been duplicated by Keith Otterbein, who has been studying the likelihood of war among nonindustrial peoples. Otterbein, an anthropologist at the State University of New York at Buffalo, found that the indigenous tribes that spent the most time preparing for war were the most likely to go to war. ☐

The Source

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The Empire's New Clothes

Profile: Tom Gervasi

BY CORINNA GARDNER

Tom Gervasi is a self-made military expert. He lectures on the subject for chapters of SANE and Physicians for Social Responsibility, among other organizations. Members of the press often turn to him for comment on national security issues. The director of the four-year-old Center for Military Research and Analysis in New York City, Gervasi has written extensively about military affairs, producing a popular book series, *Arsenal of Democracy*.

This June, Harper and Row released his newest book, a hefty hardcover called *The Myth of Soviet Military Supremacy*, which is half an exegesis of how the American press and public get bamboozled into believing in a much-exaggerated Soviet threat, and half a data-packed comparison of U.S. and Soviet military forces.

Tom Gervasi

The Myth has met mixed reviews within the arms control community. William Arkin, director of nuclear weapons research at the Institute for Pol-

icy Studies, and co-author of *Nuclear Battlefields*, contends that by "harping on yesterday's issues," Gervasi is not adding to the national security debate. "The Administration is no longer saying that the Soviets are ahead," says Arkin.

But *The Myth* has also won influential accolades from such people as chief SALT I negotiator Gerard Smith, who calls Gervasi's research and analysis "extensive and excellent," and physicist Bernard Feld, who predicts *The Myth* will "be used for many years to come."

How did Tom Gervasi become one of the new, if disputed, authorities in the arms control field? "Frankly," he told me during an interview at a Manhattan restaurant, "I never knew anything about weapons until someone suggested I write a book about them." When he undertook the *Arsenal* series, Gervasi's credentials consisted of a B.A. from Harvard and about 15 years in publishing. Now, after years of intensive research, Gervasi is fluent in the jargon of military hardware and strategy-speak. And one of his overriding missions, partially embodied in *The Myth*, is to help Americans experience the same kind of self-education he has achieved. "One of the key problems," he argues, "is understanding that the Soviets are not ahead and the Administration has been lying and it's the only excuse the government has ever offered for all of its recent military programs."

The underlying motive for the government to distort military information, Gervasi contends in *The Myth*, is to feed the profit-hungry "military industrial complex"—an analysis which he attributes to other thinkers, such as Seymour Melman and Ruth Leger Sivard. (Gervasi devotes almost half of the 532-page *Myth* to detailed appendices and notes designed to substantiate this political argument.) Ironically, Gervasi says that a large part of his audience are participants in the military industrial complex.

In his endeavor to debunk the Administration's claims of a Soviet military advantage, Gervasi has spent days, he says, cross-checking tables and figures, trying to find a consensus among the experts. And that, he says, is exactly what the press fails to do.

"Administration power over information," he asserts, "has never been stronger. In fact, some day," he continues,

"a historian may look back and see ours as an era when the art of information control—which doesn't simply mean denying access, but manipulating it in the right fashion—was at its highest."

In addition to his writing, Gervasi directs the Center for Military Research and Analysis, which he operates with a group of volunteers out of his Brooklyn home. Upcoming Center projects include compiling lists of military satellite systems, open-air bomb tests, and National Security Agency intercept stations around the world.

As director of the Center, Gervasi also keeps in touch with former military men, former intelligence officials, and organizations such as the Union of Concerned Scientists and the New York University Center for War, Peace, and the News Media to publicize and counteract inaccurate, official pronouncements. "Forgive me if I speak in military terms," says Gervasi, "but our purpose is to act as a quick-reaction alert system." □

Peace Studies In The Grove

BY BEE RING

An increasing number of universities are now offering majors in peace studies to a limited number of students. The Five College Peace and World Security Study Program (PAWSS), housed at Hampshire College, has sought a wider impact. For three years PAWSS has been offering courses to thousands of students at five colleges in western Massachusetts, conducted public education and served as a resource for other peace studies programs around the country. But what especially distinguishes PAWSS from other programs is its community involvement.

"PAWSS makes a real attempt to connect the schools back to the community and to be a service to people living in the region," says Barbara Wien, editor of the World Policy Institute's curriculum guide, *Peace and World Order Studies*. "They have returned to Plato's original idea of the academy in the grove."

The program is run out of Five Colleges Inc., a 17-year-old cooperative solution to potential conflict and competition among leading institutions in the Connecticut River Valley: Amherst, Mount Holyoke, Hampshire and Smith Colleges and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Headed by Michael Klare, a widely-published defense expert and peace activist, Five College's unique structure offers cross registration and free

Hot Inheritance

The vagaries of political succession are adding a dangerous new dimension to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, believes Leonard Spector, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who is working on the third in his annual series on the spread of nuclear arms. *Going Nuclear*, to be published by Ballinger early next year, will examine how radical forces could take control of a new nuclear-weapon state's atomic arsenal through war, *coup d'état* or revolution. Using newly unearthed historical data, Spector is chronicling how these scenarios have occurred in the past—for example when Iran's Khomeini regime inherited nuclear hardware and materials—and how they could occur in the future in South Africa and Pakistan. □

transportation between the five participating institutions.

While offering no major in peace and world security studies, PAWSS reaches students through courses in their own major fields. About 100 faculty members from more than 16 disciplines, including departments in the humanities and social sciences, integrate into their existing courses war and peace topics broadly interpreted to encompass nuclear disarmament, human rights, terrorism, third world upheaval, and hunger.

PAWSS gives grants for research and travel to assist faculty in developing new courses for students and for designing and sponsoring events for public education. Throughout the school year, PAWSS sponsors some 30 films, lectures, and panel discussions for both the academic and non-academic communities of the five college area.

While some peace studies programs are having difficulty gaining acceptance at many colleges and universities, PAWSS has had a comfortable entry into the established academic community. "[The program] is a dynamic and visible intellectual force at these colleges," says PAWSS Director Michael Klare. "We probably produce more programs during the year, in terms of number and variety of speakers, than any single group in the five colleges."

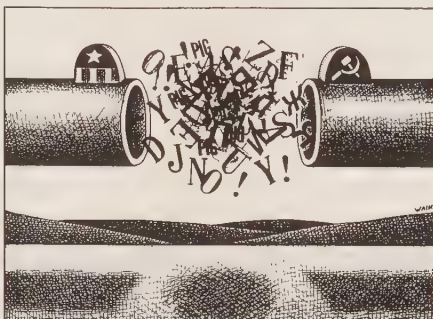
The response from faculty sampled seems to be mainly favorable. Eqbal Ahmad, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, and an instructor at Hampshire College, says that like many peace departments the program has not paid enough attention to the Middle East. But he credits PAWSS with turning some people away from "cold warrior" attitudes. Anthony Lake, former director of policy planning for the State Department, and a Five College professor of international relations, believes that PAWSS should concentrate on training faculty, but praises the program for "avoiding being ideological." Barbara Wien, on the other hand, feels that the curriculum should offer more prescriptive courses in non-violent defense and security.

Klare and his associates have become a resource in curricula development for existing and emerging programs across the country. In April, PAWSS hosted the first gathering of peace educators from 25 New England colleges. Instructors from 12 states took part in the five-day June faculty institute on U.S.-Soviet relations.

These conferences are only a beginning, believes Wien. "More and more institutions and consortia across the country," she predicts, "will be looking to PAWSS as a model." □

THE OTHER SIDE

Soviet-American relations got off to a notoriously bad start. The Bolshevik government which seized power in October 1917 made a separate peace with Germany, freeing whole German armies for a major offensive against the Allies in the West in the spring of 1918. Losing an ally in the middle of a war is about the worst thing that can happen to a belligerent. Small wonder



then that Britain, France and the United States tried their feeble best back in 1918 to strangle the baby in its cradle. The Allied intervention succeeded only in prolonging the bloody Russian Civil War, still a rich source of bitter official memory in the Soviet Union. But only the United States among the Allies refused to recognize the legitimacy of the new government after the shooting ended.

It was not until 1933 that President Roosevelt signed an agreement with Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet foreign minister, for an exchange of embassies. Fifty years later the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University and the World Affairs Council of Rhode Island commemorated the occasion with four lectures by leading Soviet scholars, including George Kennan, the only survivor among the Americans who had gone to Moscow with William Bullitt, the first U.S. ambassador. These lectures have been published, together with two additional papers, in *Shared Destiny: Fifty Years of Soviet-American Relations* (Beacon Press, \$16.95), which attempts to explain what went wrong, and why it matters.

Kennan, one of the few men in this century to have made himself great simply by thinking, writes in a tone of

pained and almost helpless wonder at the pass to which things have come. In retirement since the early 1950s he has returned, in a series of books, to the decades on either side of the First World War. He does not quite flatly say that the blind and feckless slide into war in 1914 looks very much to him like what is happening now, but that is the bleak heart of his gentle parting remark.

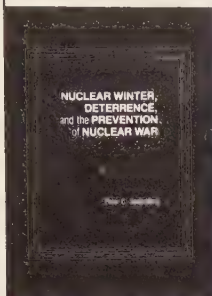
John Lewis Gaddis, an historian at Ohio University, and Adam Ulam, a political scientist at Harvard University, are brisk and cheerful by comparison, covering much territory in few words. Gaddis thinks four watchwords ought to govern the American approach: firmness, flexibility, consistency and civility—the last notably lacking in the Reagan Administration. Ulam, a Pole by birth and brother of the late mathematician Stanislaw Ulam who helped to invent the hydrogen bomb, thinks the United States would have done better in dealing with the Russians if it had understood them better. Both write with the Olympian detachment of scholars who have figured it all out, the result no doubt of years of lecturing to students frantically trying to take it all down. But both have been watching this rivalry for decades, have seen many dire warnings fizzle into nothing, and may perhaps be forgiven their hopeful conclusion that deterrence works so don't mess with it.

In this company Alexander Dallin, professor of history at Stanford, appears as something of a gadfly. He feels the Americans, spurred by an "irrational fear of Communism," have made a great deal of to-do about nothing since 1945.

Mark Garrison, a longtime Soviet expert in the State Department and now director of the Center at Brown, comes closest to taking the reader by the lapels. The purpose of the lectures, like the purpose of the Center, he writes, is "to understand how the two countries came to be poised near the brink of nuclear disaster and how they might be able to back away from it." Thus he poses a problem of amazing difficulty. Talking about the Soviet-American rivalry—and *writing* is only words on ice—is like talking about the weather. You can say all you like about a cold front without delaying the frost by a second.

The United States and the Soviet Union have each devoted the cream of the wealth of an entire continent to preparing for war. It would be unfair to blame these authors for not solving a problem of such complexity. Forget all my quibbles. This little book is an ideal introduction to what we think when we think about Russia.

—Thomas Powers



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Research Aids

ARTICLES

Limits of Military Power: Economic and Other, by Seymour Melman (*International Security*, Summer 1986). The United States is a declining economic power, but re-industrialization won't be feasible until we convert a major part of the resources now used in the military economy to civilian use, Melman concludes. The author, a professor in Operations Research at Columbia University, offers lively evidence of the extent to which the military receives first call on the nation's capital resources. Extrapolating on current spending rates, he predicts that by 1988 it will become physically impossible to seriously reconstruct U.S. industry and infrastructure.

Crisis in the Other Alliance: ANZUS in the 1980's, by Andrew Mack (*World Policy Journal*, Summer 1986). Mack, head of the Peace Research Center at the Australian National University, compares public and government views in Australia and New Zealand on questions of the arms race and the Pacific alliance. In a detailed discussion of the security environment in the region, he relates why the peace movement has had a more limited impact on public opinion in Australia than in New Zealand.

Nuclear Winter Reappraised, by Starley L. Thompson and Stephen H. Schneider (*Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1986). This hard look at the nuclear winter theory explores the revisionist view that the chances of a global apocalypse following a nuclear exchange is low. In a review of the policy implications of the theory, the two atmospheric scientists at the National Center for Atmospheric Research relate how the Canadians and Soviets would experience a more severe nuclear winter than would the United States. The authors also propose placing volatile targets into a "with-hold category" and reducing the total explosive yield of the nuclear arsenals in order to minimize the potential for severe climatic effects following a nuclear war.

REPORTS

Report of the International Task Force on Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism, (a project of the Nuclear Control Institute, 1000 Connecticut Ave NW, Ste 704, Washington, DC 20036 202-822-8444. \$12 includes shipping and handling). The first international task force on the subject has reached agreement on a long list of measures to combat what it views as the rising risk of nuclear terrorism. For the short term, it urges all

nations to install "permissive action link" (PAL) systems to protect all nuclear weapons against unauthorized use. It also suggests that the United States upgrade its anti-terrorist Nuclear Emergency Search Team (NEST). For the longer term it recommends a multilateral approach: all nations should ratify the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and extend its provisions.

Countdown on the Comprehensive Test Ban, by the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation and the Ploughshares Fund, Inc. (\$5 from the Ploughshares Fund, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123 415-775-2244.) This compact but comprehensive briefing packet, designed for journalists, relates the history of test ban negotiations, verification issues, and U.S. and Soviet compliance with the Threshold Test Ban Treaty. It also looks ahead to the potential effects of a CTB on strategic arms talks and nuclear proliferation, and weighs the merits of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral approaches to a CTB.

BOOKS

Strategic Nuclear Targeting, edited by Desmond Ball and Jeffrey Richelson (\$29.95 from the Cornell University Press, 367 pp.) This collection of 13 essays delves into the little-known subject of the nuclear war plans of the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. The contributors, who include David Rosenberg, George Quester and Colin Gray, are often in agreement as they discuss the merits of nuclear targeting strategy and its intended effects.

Assessing the Nuclear Age, edited by Len Ackland and Steven Maguire (\$12.95 from the University of Chicago Press, 382 pp.) Two editors from the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* combine most of the selections from the *Bulletin's* August 1985 anniversary issue—which includes reflections by several scientists who worked on the Manhattan project—with a dozen recent *Bulletin* articles on Star Wars, verification and compliance, and proliferation.

Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War, edited by Ralph K. White (New York University Press, 591 pp., \$20). This massive volume offers the first collection of every major school of thought on the psychology of deterrence. Its 37 contributors, which include Richard Ned Lebow, Eric Fromm, Roberta Snow, and William Ury, explore topics such as perceptions in international conflict, roles of mediators, ideas for changing war-related attitudes, "psychological numbing," and how the American public and Soviet decision makers view the nuclear threat. □

INTERACTIONS

GROUP NEWS AND COMMENT

COALITION

For a New Foreign and Military Policy

EFFECTIVE ADVOCACY FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

How can we more effectively work for peace and justice via the democratic process? One way is to increase our knowledge and advocacy skills. Another is to develop advocacy projects with other groups. To assist its member organizations in this work, the Coalition is coordinating Interfaith Advocacy Training Workshops with the public policy staff of seven national religious groups.

At the workshops we describe cooperative advocacy projects developed by the national staff of participating faith groups and by activists around the country. We show how a cooperative project can increase the sophistication and effectiveness of existing organizations' lobbying efforts. The work of following legislation, putting together delegations to visit the representatives, and attending public forums can be shared, avoiding duplication of effort and burn-out. Lobbying

becomes more consistent and regular, demonstrating to members of Congress a high level of organization and commitment.

Interfaith advocacy workshops provide substantive information for participants. But they are also an organizing tool, for they provide local groups with an opportunity to involve people. In addition, they stimulate groups of people with similar concerns to reflect upon goals and to develop a common strategy.

By allowing local groups to choose the components of, and the objectives for, the workshop, the Coalition provides local affiliates of its member organizations with skills training, project ideas and issue information appropriate to their situations and plans.

The national religious groups we are working with are: United Church of Christ-Office of Church in Society, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), United Methodist Church-Women's Division, United Methodist Church-Board of Church and Society, Unitarian Universalist Peace Network, and the Episcopal Church Public Policy Network.

If you are interested in knowing more about our workshops, please contact Tina Clarke, Field Director of the Coalition at 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-8400.



EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

THINKING ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

Even more difficult and controversial than educating about nuclear weapons and arms control issues is teaching about the Soviet Union. ESR's 1986-87 program focuses on learning about the Soviet Union and poses questions like:

- How can we, as teachers and as citizens, discuss the real threats posed by the Soviet Union without reinforcing exaggerated fears or without diminishing realistic ones?
- How can we discuss the relationship of the Soviet people to their government without violating either their values or our own?
- Why is it important to learn about the Soviet Union?
- What concerns do parents have about their children studying the Soviet Union?
- What about teachers' fears of being branded as Communist dupes or apologists?

"Days of Dialogue 1986"

Parents, teachers, and other community members across the United States and Canada will discuss these questions in local forums during ESR Days of Dialogue 1986, "Thinking, Teaching, and Learning About the Soviet Union." Continuing a tradition begun with the first ESR "Day of Dialogue" in 1982, most ESR chapters in 36 states and Canada will focus their attention on a single issue from November 17 through

November 22, 1986.

Last year, during ESR's Days of Dialogue program, "Finding Common Ground," an estimated 3500 classrooms participated in activities related to the upcoming Geneva summit. Chapter programs such as Seattle's public forum on U.S.-Soviet relations and "Star Wars" debates in San Francisco not only succeeded in attracting community and media attention, but also brought those discussions into the larger community.

New Resources

New K-12, one- to five-day lesson units are now available. These resources were conceived and developed by ESR teacher-educators, coordinated by ESR's founding president, Roberta Snow.

ESR will also offer an organizing packet for those who wish to coordinate events outside of the classroom. Included will be instructions for creating Soviet Learning Fairs which present workshops, displays, films, books, music, and other Soviet resources to the community.

More Than A Week

The coordinated focus will conclude on November 22 but ESR will continue to think, learn, and teach about the Soviets. The year will include a full-length curriculum, ongoing workshops for teachers, and other resources.

ESR extends its warmest appreciation to Roberta Snow, who has resigned as president, for her leadership and inspiration. As founding president, she will continue to challenge our thinking and to help shape our future.

For more information about local programs, contact ESR at 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-1764.



**WOMEN'S ACTION FOR
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, INC.**

SIGNS OF RESURGENCE

In some circles it has been called the "crash of '84"—the post-election doldrums that led columnist Mary McGrory and others to write obituaries for the peace and disarmament movement. With two major political events on the horizon—the 1986 congressional elections and a second U.S.-Soviet summit—there are signs of a grass-roots resurgence.

WAND's affiliate and associate network now embraces more than 120 groups in nearly every state, and instead of the usual summer slack, the pace is picking up. At the national conference this spring, WAND members brainstormed about "new directions" for the movement with an energy that had all but evaporated after the Reagan landslide.

What is the source of people's revived spirits? A new sense of urgency in the aftermath of Chernobyl? A fresh wave of focused anger at Administration foreign, domestic and military policies? A sense of hope in the possibility of change as witnessed in the Philippines?

The reasons may vary, but a movement that has been characterized in the past as being "a mile wide and an inch deep" has made its depth visible this summer. Here are just a few stories that inspired people in the WAND office recently—a tiny corner of the mosaic during the summer of '86:

- The Great Peace March reached Kansas City by mid-July, its numbers swelled to more than 600 women, men and chil-

dren. Marcher Nancy McManus, a WAND volunteer, wrote a letter to the *Arlington Advocate* in Massachusetts that said, "This is an amazing world in which we live . . . loaned to us by our children."

- Two New Hampshire firefighters challenged a training exercise for fighting fires that might result from a nuclear accident at the Seabrook power plant. They were fired for taking a stand on the pointlessness of nuclear civil defense.

- A Connecticut WAND member, who works in a plant that builds components for nuclear weapons, was willing to risk her own job by educating plant employees about the nature of their work, and promoting discussion about economic conversion.

- More than 600 people endured the heat of the Nevada desert to protest U.S. nuclear tests. Many people remained at the test site throughout the summer.

- U.S. District Judge Harold Greene dismissed a copyright infringement suit brought by the High Frontier organization against author Sheila Tobias and Arizona state representative Peter Goudinoff. Greene ruled that Tobias and Goudinoff were within their rights when they used High Frontier film clips in a videotape critique of the SDI program, and he also gave Tobias license to use any future High Frontier productions.

The elections and the summit will have an important effect on nuclear policy through the end of the Reagan Administration's tenure. For the longer haul, the movement can draw upon the energy of the growing numbers of people who are committed to lasting change. The doldrums are behind us.

Contact WAND at P.O. Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston, MA 02258 (617) 643-6740.

AFSC

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

PREPARING FOR "AMERIKA"

The Soviet Union has taken over the United States, using a United Nations occupation force in which Vietnamese and Angolan troops play a prominent role. They arrange for the House of Representatives to convene, then massacre most of the members. They burn the Capitol. Seeking the "final solution to the American problem," the Soviets consider nuclear attacks on selected U.S. cities—but find it unnecessary because "liberal" Americans collaborate with the occupiers.

Sound like a paranoid fantasy? Yes, but it's also the scenario for *Amerika*, the \$32 million, 12-hour ABC-TV mini-series depicting life in the United States after a Soviet takeover. It is widely believed that ABC agreed to this special project in response to right-wing pressure following ABC's airing of *The Day After*. *Amerika* should be coming your way in February 1987.

We believe that the script is so bad that there is no use in urging ABC to alter parts of it. Why make a terrible program seem a bit more reasonable?

Rather, our organizations should begin working now to stress how ridiculous the whole scenario is and to take advantage of the opportunity it presents. This mini-series gives us a chance to stimulate a more honest discussion of the *real* questions of peace and security which we face, and to present a more accurate view of the Soviet Union, U.S.-Soviet relations, and the role of each superpower in the world.

If we begin now to talk with teachers, clergy, union leaders,

and community groups, we can organize events that will allow serious discussion of these issues. We can set up house meetings, film series, and discussion groups. We should challenge the apparent premises of the mini-series: that a goal of Soviet policy is to occupy the United States; that liberal or left-wing dissent undermines our security; that the United Nations is a tool of Soviet interests. And we should expose the profound racism and national stereotyping in the portrayal of the "occupiers."

We can also use this occasion to advance an alternative agenda for U.S. security. This would identify the real danger of nuclear war and discuss the necessity for cooperative efforts among *all* nations if we are to realize the security of any one nation. It would explore how current U.S. and Soviet policies are obstacles to such cooperative efforts—and how we can work to change those policies.

Pursuing this agenda, we should talk about the growing poverty and injustice in U.S. society. Our real security lies in greater economic and political equality, not less. We need policies to create well-paying jobs and income support, not Star Wars and more weapons.

AFSC will work with other national groups to develop and promote resources which local activists can use in work around *Amerika*. Among our own pieces will be a special edition of our "Local Media Briefing Packet" series. These packets are designed to assist local activists in media work—specifically, to secure meetings with editors, reporters, and talk-show hosts and to help get alternative views into local media. Want more information? Contact the National Disarmament Program, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7171.



SPECTACULAR FOLLIES

To remind Congress what nuclear war would be like under even the best-case scenario promoted by Strategic Defense Initiative enthusiasts, PSR is distributing an umbrella dotted with quarter-sized holes equal to five percent of its surface area. Each member of the House and the Senate will receive an umbrella in advance of votes on SDI funding for FY 1987. We will urge Star Wars' staunch supporters in Congress to demonstrate their confidence in the protection SDI can afford by sauntering around under their Star Wars umbrellas during rainy-day campaign appearances this autumn.

In a related matter, PSR has received a draft of what the Federal Emergency Management Agency is cooking up to decrease Americans' dread of nuclear war. According to FEMA, we can all put our worst fears about the effects of a nuclear exchange behind us: Government by, of, and for whoever is left alive will indeed continue in the wake of nuclear war. The current version of the plan calls for the shelter and sustenance of state and local officials around the nation.

Those to be governed will be left to their own devices through a "citizen self-help" program. FEMA will provide advance guidance on this endeavor with education programs "adaptable for use by families, schools, churches, social service and

professional organizations," each of which will presumably be responsible for obtaining the requisite number of shovels.

But don't underestimate FEMA. Our emergency planners have both vision and strength of will. The former is evident in the fact that they have developed their *magnum opus* with an eye to its being compatible with a fully deployed SDI. And just in case local officials don't perceive the essential brilliance of this or other FEMA plans, a letter sent to all state governors in early July made it clear that no state that refuses to buy into "nuclear attack preparedness" can expect federal funds for natural disaster contingency planning.

There are two lessons in all this for people who are attempting to direct public attention to various aspects of the nuclear war issue. The first is that at least some of the current crop of federal officials are obviously thinking very hard about responses to—rather than prevention of—what the rest of us consider "unthinkable."

The second is that if the powers that be continue to propose "solutions" to the problem of nuclear war that are so inherently comical—albeit tragi-comical—our failing to exploit that humor would be a grave tactical error.

Using humor and any other promising approaches, PSR will continue to oppose both SDI and civil defense plans which are based on the assumption that nuclear war can be either won or survived in any meaningful sense of that term—the spectacular folly of which can be recognized by anyone with enough sense to come in out of the rain.

For more information, contact PSR at 1601 Connecticut Av. NW, Ste 800, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-5750.

The Future of Arms Control is Hanging in the Balance

Six years into the Reagan administration, there has been no progress in arms control, and the scales seem weighted against the survival of the arms control agreements negotiated over the last 25 years.

Help us tip the balance. The Arms Control Association plays a leading role in the struggle to preserve limits on offensive and defensive strategic weapons, and to build support for nuclear arms control in the future. As a member/subscriber, you will receive *Arms Control Today*, the monthly magazine that gives the latest, most informed view of developments in this vital field.

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Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility

ELECTION YEAR COMMITTEES FORMED

ADPSR/NY has joined with the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC), the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), and the Nurses Alliance to Prevent Nuclear War (NAPNW) to form election year education (EYE) committees. Participants meet once a month to report on the activities of election teams working on 18 congressional races. Tom Henkel, chairman of the Department of Physics at Wagner College, and David Rubin, professor in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communications at New York University, are briefing the teams on arms control treaties and verification, the national media's treatment of the peace movement, the U.S. and Soviet nuclear stockpiles, and the economic effects of the arms race. Their aim is to educate and prepare the teams for nonpartisan lobbying between now and the November elections, and to publicize our views on nuclear disarmament and the necessity for controlling the arms race.

The Northern California ADPSR chapter along with seven other peace groups is planning to set up a debate between California senatorial contenders Alan Cranston and Ed Zschau.

For more information contact ADPSR, 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.



ADPSR President Tician Papachristou and USSR Union of Architects President Anatoli Polianski signing a statement in Moscow on May 20 calling for all architects, designers, and planners of the world to form International Architects/Designers/Planners for the Prevention of Nuclear War.



YWCA GOAL: PEACE AND JUSTICE

An outstanding antinuclear war activist represents the National Board of the YWCA of the U.S.A. in the nation's capital. Jo Uehara serves on the board of directors of Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) and was a member of the planning committee for CAN's recent conference, "The Nuclear Arms Race: Survival Dilemma for People of Color." Last November she was part of the Women for a Meaningful Summit delegation that went to Geneva at the time of the summit meeting to publicize the urgent need for an effective nuclear arms agreement.

The YWCA of the U.S.A. has a longstanding interest in international affairs and peace. As one of 83 national "Y"s participating in the World YWCA, it has close ties with women abroad and a broader understanding of Third World viewpoints than most American organizations.

For example, its last triennial convention, in response to a request from the YWCAs of the Pacific, adopted a resolution favoring a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific. The resolution supported New Zealand's policy of denying access to nuclear-powered vessels or those carrying nuclear weapons. That has led the United States to withdraw its ANZUS treaty support from New Zealand.

As one of the 60 national organizations that belong to Citizens Against Nuclear War, the YWCA has publicized CAN's Peace Education Networks. These draw individual men and

women into an effective grass-roots network that is actively working for nuclear disarmament.

The YWCA of the U.S.A. is at work in 49 states—all but Alaska—and in some 430 community and student associations in 4000 locations. About two million women, girls and their families take part in the public affairs, foreign policy, health and fitness, and educational courses of the "Y." A national convention held every three years decides the policy objectives of the movement. Preceding each convention for a day and a half is a Global Awareness Event that draws several thousand "Y" members. These events prepare convention delegates to interpret world concerns for their local YWCA members.

The last convention, held in 1985, established two international and military priorities for the convention: "peace and mutual disarmament" and an emphasis on human rights and opposition to racism. The newest International Study Program is on apartheid and routes to peacefully overcoming injustices in South Africa.

On international policy and nuclear weapons issues the National Board of the YWCA communicates regularly with its community and student associations through a Public Policy Bulletin whose primary audience is comprised of the volunteer chairs and paid staff of three committees functioning in most community "Y"s: public affairs/public policy; racial justice; and world mutual service/cooperation for development.

For more information contact Citizens Against Nuclear War, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington DC 20036 (202) 822-7483. The Public Affairs and Public Policy section of the YWCA National Board can be reached at 726 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

sane

DR. SPOCK IS WORRIED

In his early 80's, Dr. Benjamin Spock is amazingly robust. He flies into Washington, D.C., is jovial at a 7:30 A.M. breakfast briefing, fairly runs to a 9:00 A.M. press conference, and by 1:00 P.M., under constant TV lights in a House Armed Services Committee hearing room, is pounding the table enthusiastically. "Does anything do any good? I hate that question! I believe everything you do matters!" Impeccably dressed, with trimmed white beard, lively, clear blue eyes, and a gravelly Brahmin voice, Spock is still the beloved baby doctor. But he prefers in public to be introduced simply as a peace activist.

These are citizens' hearings called "Chernobyl, USA," sponsored by SANE with Representatives Pat Schroeder and Ed Markey. For nearly three hours, experts and witnesses—a farmer from Hanford, Washington; Navajo uranium miners; a physicist from the Savannah River Plant; cancer victims from nuclear testing—expose the hazards from Department of Energy nuclear weapons production. And now, Dr. Spock is calling for action. "It took women 70 years to get suffrage," he says. "Society ladies from Boston and Philadelphia lay down in the streets, knocked the heads off the statues of some of our heroes. And then Congress said, 'Well, maybe they've got a point!'"

The room full of congressional staffers, press, and representatives of peace groups laughs spontaneously, and Dr. Spock's cheery call to civil disobedience is duly entered into the *Congressional Record*. "Everything does some good! Don't argue about it! Write letters, lobby, vote! The main thing is to just keep going!" On the wall by Dr. Spock is a mounted New York Times full-page ad produced in 1962 by SANE. There, somewhat thinner, in a three-piece suit with the folded handkerchief and collar pin he wears today, is Benjamin Spock. He gazes down on a cute, chubby toddler. The headline says "Dr. Spock is worried." The subject—atmospheric nuclear testing. A generation was saved from radioactive strontium, iodine, cesium, and other fallout. But now, nearly a quarter of a century later, Dr. Spock is still at it. Exuding plain old Yankee common sense, he testifies, "I believe we must end all nuclear testing and all nuclear weapons."

At such a moment those gathered must sense that they are not a mere radical fringe. They are as central to American history as society women and suffragettes. Take Janet Gordon, a Utah rancher. Gordon's older brother had died slowly of stomach cancer. "What our government is doing to us is outrageous," she tells the group. "It's absolutely unacceptable. It's downright evil." As Janet Gordon finishes, many in the room are in tears. Dr. Spock gazes at her from across the semicircular hearing table and nods in silent recognition.

—Bob Musil

The 35-minute videocassette "Chernobyl, USA" is available for \$39.95 or rental at \$19.95 from SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 546-7100.

NUCLEAR ETHICS

JOSEPH S. NYE, JR.

New light at the end of the tunnel

Joseph Nye's perspective is both unique and authoritative. It derives from his work in moral philosophy at Oxford, and as an expert on nuclear strategy as a former Deputy Under Secretary of State.

In NUCLEAR ETHICS, Nye argues that our ability to make critical moral distinctions has been seriously damaged by the all-or-nothing, black and white quality of the current debate. Here, he offers the necessary alternative. Nye's historically based "just defense doctrine"—one that offers a sensitive moral compass for policy choices—provides "the most balanced, scrupulous, and comprehensive discussion of the ethical dilemmas caused by nuclear weapons."—Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard University

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THIS YEAR, VOTE PEACE

Peace Links participants are gearing up for the 1986 election with a project known as VOTE PEACE. This rubric includes a variety of activities—voter registration, candidate forums, media work—to help elect candidates who will provide leadership for a constructive national security policy.

Several Peace Links groups are working in concert with the Women's Vote Project (WVP), an organization that trains women to register women voters. The Project acts as a catalyst in developing coalitions of women's organizations that will work to increase the size and importance of the women's vote. By involving the leadership of national organizations, the Women's Vote Project offers credibility as well as experience to the voter registration efforts of the organization's local chapters. Local chapters of Peace Links and other women's groups

are using WVP's video and workshop script to conduct workshops in voter project planning.

Pennsylvania Peace Links is one of the primary groups working with the Women's Vote Project materials. Their September workshop, cosponsored with the YWCA, is expected to draw members from several women's organizations. This workshop, entitled "The Power of the Voting Woman," will prepare participants to register women in grocery stores, bus stops, infant-care centers, public service offices—anywhere women congregate, especially where women wait.

In the second workshop in October, Tim Barner, executive director of Pittsburgh World Federalists, will offer "How to Put Peace and National Security on Candidates' and Legislators' Agendas." Pennsylvania Peace Links is also working with the League of Women Voters to present local candidate debates, and throughout the 1986-87 season will cosponsor a monthly program with the YWCA on various facets of peace and justice work.

For further information, contact: Peace Links, 747 8th St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.

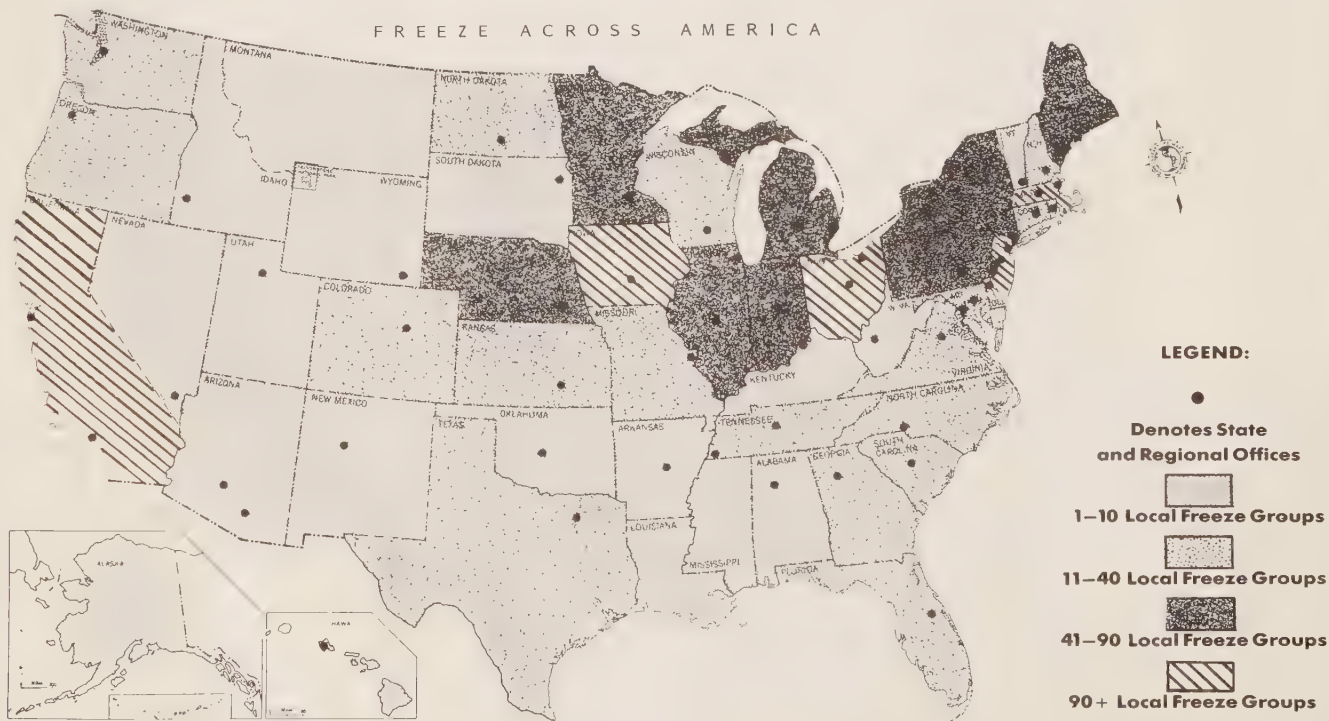


FREEZE ACROSS AMERICA

The strength of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign has always been its local chapters. The Freeze maintains a legislative action network with activist contacts in over 90 percent

of the Congressional districts in the country. Local supporters raise over \$2 million annually for the state chapters. In the fall of 1985 and the spring of 1986, the Freeze and Topsfield Foundation each conducted surveys to test the strength of the Campaign's grass roots. The results appear on the map below.

For more information, contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St. NE, Ste 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.



STATISTICS:

1824 Local FREEZE Groups Nationwide (as of Summer 1986)
56 State and Regional Offices
109 State and Regional Paid Staff

SOURCES:

"State and National Freeze Staff Directory," NWFC, Wash., DC, Apr. 1986
"Grassroots Peace Directory," Topsfield, Pomfret, CT, March 10, 1985.
National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign Survey, conducted Fall 1985.

Groups Form United Fronts

Coalitions and mergers stir debate

BY ALEX MILLER

"It's the first time the groups here have gone beyond saying 'we're all in this together,'" says Don Skinner, state coordinator of Citizens for a Nuclear Free Oregon, one of several groups representing an array of nuclear interests that are working cooperatively with environmental groups to pass three statewide ballot initiatives in November. But Oregon is not alone. Across the nation, groups have formed coalitions to work on specific campaigns, coordinate events or strategies, and present a more unified voice to the media and public.

These coalitions frequently take the form of umbrella organizations which oversee a loose federation with participation on an *ad hoc*, volunteer basis. In some cases, however, groups with specific, well-established identities (such as freeze or Central America groups), have disappeared or broadened their focus by merging into larger organizations with wider peace and justice agendas.

Does the grass-roots coalition-building activity open the door for a similar evolution at the national level, such as the proposed SANE/Freeze merger? And if coalition building leads toward a broader focus, is the antinuclear weapons movement destined to become a multi-issue "peace" movement, with impetus coming from the roots on up?

URGE TO MERGE

Unification efforts, once rare, have become commonplace:

- With a paid, part-time staff member, 15 participating organizations and a combined membership of roughly 20,000, the Colorado Coalition for the Prevention of Nuclear War is one of the most successful statewide coalitions. It was instrumental in getting the Denver City Council to pass a test ban resolution, and is now coordinating a series of events called "Decision '86/National Security in the Nuclear Age."

Beginning with a symposium on September 12-13 organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the two-month "Decision '86" program consists of numerous speakers and

events around the state, including a televised debate between congressional candidates. The events are being organized and cosponsored by coalition groups, which include The Colorado Council of Churches and local chapters of The League of Women Voters and the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control. The three-year-old coalition is itself hosting an event in early October with former CIA director William Colby. The Coalition functions as a loose, umbrella structure, says Liz Moore, the coalition's vice president and founder. "Each organization retains its own agenda and sovereignty. It's like a federation of states."

- By contrast, in Nebraska, the state's five largest peace-related groups recently merged to form Nebraskans for Peace (NFP). Three of the five were formerly freeze affiliates, one opposed deployment of the MX missile, and the fifth was a

15-year-old peace and justice organization whose name was adopted by the new group, which now has 2500 members. Unlike most coalition efforts, these groups actually joined to form a single new entity—so that when the merger occurred last February the individual groups disappeared.

"Initially the groups here had focused on politics within the state," says Larry Zink, state coordinator of the new NFP. "It became clear to us, though, that to be more effective we needed to focus on Congress, and that requires a statewide network." The new NFP has a broad agenda which includes a nuclear weapons freeze, non-intervention in Central America, anti-apartheid work and the farm crisis.

It took over a year of discussion to complete the merger, but most activists there support the change. "We tended to be isolated from each other," says Marylyn



On November 15, the *USS Tennessee*, the ninth Trident submarine and the first capable of carrying the D-5 missile, will be launched at Electric Boat in Groton, Connecticut. On hand to protest the event will be the newly-formed Coalition To Stop Trident, whose goal is to forge a national grass-roots effort to stop deployment of the D-5, scheduled for 1989. For more information, contact the Coalition at PO Box 411, New Haven, CT 16502 (203) 776-4098. (Photo: Trident submarine entering harbor at the Naval Submarine Base, Bangor, Washington)

Felion, who was a freeze group director in Omaha. "Now there is a feeling of solidarity."

But some Nebraskan peace activists raise questions about the benefits of a merger. Marilyn McNabb, a former board member of the old NFP, wrote in the group's newsletter that pre-merger discussions had centered on *how* to merge the groups, not *whether* to do it.

The new NFP has been slowed because of time spent on the merger. "It [the merger] has taken a fair amount of leadership and energy to bring about," says Zink. "The momentum of the movement here has suffered from it. But I'm confident in the long term that we'll rebound."

● In Ohio, the state Freeze Campaign funds and manages the Peace Clearinghouse, which helps coordinate Ohio peace groups. The board of directors of the Ohio Freeze, which includes representatives of Physicians for Social Responsibility, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, the Catholic Commission of the Columbus diocese and other participants, directs the project.

"When we go to donors and they see a single organization supporting all the peace groups in the state," says Helen Seidman, president of the Ohio Freeze, "their eyes light up and they take out their check books." The clearinghouse gets frequent coverage on the wire services, who consider it newsworthy for coordinated protests to take place in several cities on the same day.

Launching the project had its difficulties, however. Local groups in Ohio were reluctant to spend staff time working on a cooperative effort, or to share their donor lists. "It's ironic," says Seidman, "that the protection of turf is somewhat like the nationalism that fuels the arms race." Organizing difficulties aside, she feels that the project can play an important role by providing a "bird's eye view" on the state so that resources can be channelled to areas where they're most needed.

OPERATION COOPERATION

The coalition efforts in Colorado, Oregon, Ohio and Nebraska comprise only a small part of the growing cooperation among peace groups across the country. Active coalitions have been organized in Rhode Island, Washington state, Texas, Florida, Connecticut, North Carolina, and other states. There are a number of local professionals' coalitions as well, coordinated out of a national office in Washington, D.C.

Some coalitions address single issues, such as the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor in New York City, which is fighting the Navy's plan to base nuclear-capable ships in Staten Island (and has swung seven local congressmen to its

side recently). In others, peace groups have been reaching beyond their peers to join with other types of groups. Boston-area SANE, for example, recently worked with labor unions at the Quincy Shipyard in Massachusetts to promote economic conversion and save jobs after General Dynamics closed its facility there.

But it is not clear that all of this alone will lead to a broad-based peace and justice movement. Many Freeze groups have significantly broadened their focus, but the professionals' groups and coalitions, and many of the umbrella groups, stick narrowly to the nuclear weapons issue. Several observers suggest that the professionals' groups cannot adopt a broad, left-wing foreign policy position for fear of alienating their more conservative members.

And skeptics abound. Damon Moglen, medical outreach coordinator for Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), argues that many groups freely endorse broader issues or coalitions, but when staff time and money are involved

"We tended to be isolated from each other . . . now there is a feeling of solidarity."

their commitment dries up. "In truth, a lot of these coalitions are about as deep as the paper they're signed on to," says Moglen. Many other activists commented that often when a campaign or event ends so does cooperation.

Coalition-building has not been without its growing pains and failures. To avoid "turf" problems, organizers of the joint initiative effort in Oregon made specific agreements among themselves on who would petition where, and the roles of the various groups. Commitment to a coalition can also be problematical. In Montana, peace groups working with organizations representing farmers and low-income citizens on a set of initiatives only gathered about one-sixth of the signatures necessary to be placed on the November ballot. "In the end we never really pulled together a true coalition," says Butch Turk, who coordinated the campaign.

In Maryland, which had been touted for months as a cooperation test site by the Freeze/SANE Commission, a communications breakdown has hurt rela-

tions between the Freeze and SANE there. According to Maryland Freeze Coordinator Kye Briesath, SANE members began organizing among local groups associated, albeit loosely, with the state Freeze. One such group recently became a SANE chapter—which Briesath didn't learn about until reading the group's newsletter. (SANE never consulted her.) Briesath is now advising local Freeze groups not to become SANE chapters until the national unity process is completed. Maryland, however, is not the only location to experience merger pains. Chris Pelly, field coordinator at the Freeze Campaign's national office in Washington, D.C., wrote a letter in late June to the head of the Northern Virginia Freeze, a group that was considering affiliating with a nearby SANE chapter. The letter, which was published in the group's newsletter, advised the Freeze not to affiliate with SANE. David Cortright, executive director of SANE, called for a meeting with Freeze leaders to discuss the concerns raised by Pelly. The result: SANE agreed not to approach local Freeze groups until the national unity debate is resolved, and the Freeze sent a letter to its local groups saying that the national organizations had agreed that affiliation should not take place until after the unity process was finalized. "If each local affiliation signs a different agreement, it will make it harder to unify the two groups in the end," Pelly says.

At another SANE/Freeze test state, however, local groups are getting the jump on the national unity commission. The New Jersey state Freeze office recently merged into New Jersey SANE, and will continue to coordinate local New Jersey groups through a nominally autonomous Freeze network. According to Michael Immerso, director of the New Jersey Freeze network, and now a SANE staffer, the move to combine the two groups began before the national unity plan was announced. The Freeze had almost always worked out of the SANE office, and the groups realized that their efforts were overlapping, especially in fundraising.

Immerso feels the New Jersey solution would be a good model for other states, or even the national groups, to follow. The organization draws on the canvass and political strength of SANE, while continuing to support the grass-roots disarmament organizing of the Freeze. "It's a question of tactics," says Immerso. "Let's say 60 percent of the Freeze supporters already belong to existing local organizations. Do you create another membership group out of nothing, or do you consolidate with the groups that exist?" In New Jersey, at least, the answer seemed obvious. □

Resources

BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

BOOKS

The Defender: The Story of General Dynamics, by Roger Franklin. General Dynamics is the largest arms manufacturer in the world, the Pentagon's major contractor (\$13 billion worth of contracts), with plants from the Convair division in San Diego to Electric Boat in Groton, Connecticut, where the Trident nuclear submarine is built. Franklin, an Australian journalist, paints a devastating portrait of a company that has been responsible for successful weapons systems like the F-16 jet fighter and the Tomahawk cruise missile, and for fiascos like the M-1 tank. Since the 1950s, General Dynamics' own mismanagement has placed it, for example, way behind Boeing and McDonnell Douglas in the manufacture of commercial airliners, and ever more dependent on government defense contracts. And since the 1950s, it repeatedly has been the target of federal investigations, resulting in at least four indictments. Franklin quotes a member of the congressional committee investigating recent cost overruns on the Trident: "What small contractor could suffer the wrath of the Secretary of the Navy, go to the White House and meet with Mr. Meese, then have a pleasant meeting with the Secretary of the Navy that results in an assistant secretary running out to your car like a puppy dog to assure you that the Navy will take care of you?" Franklin does not draw conclusions from the General Dynamics case about the defense contractor establishment in general, but his book does illustrate that this country has an unwritten economic policy: the Pentagon keeps American business afloat. (Harper & Row hardcover, \$22.50.)

Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War, by Grace Halsell. This is a useful companion to A.G. Mojtabai's *Blessed Assurance* (See "Nuclear Culture," page 8). While Mojtabai examines small splinter groups of fundamentalist Christians in a particular setting, Halsell analyzes the Armageddon pronouncements of more mainstream New Right evangelists, including political activists like Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. (Lawrence Hill hardcover, \$14.95.)

Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination, by Sam Keen. A fascinating collection of propaganda art, ranging from 16th century examples to

20th century ROTC posters, illustrates a philosopher's long essay on the ways that, to paraphrase the song from "South Pacific," we've been carefully taught to hate the other side, including the Soviet Union. Using the illustrations, Keen



ON THE THRESHOLD!

Even then the Russians were coming: 1920 cartoon in "Faces of the Enemy"

points out that we portray the enemy as a torturer, rapist, aggressive beast, reptile, insect, germ, or death itself. These images enable us, he argues, to contemplate killing off the enemy with ease, and allow us to calmly accept the threat of nuclear destruction. He also includes images from peace propaganda that show war as the ultimate enemy. (Harper & Row hardcover, \$19.95.)

The Meaning of Survival: Hiroshima's Commitment to Peace. This attractive 344-page volume, comprised of hundreds of photographs from the archives of Hiroshima's leading newspaper, provides a first-ever chronicle of what has happened to that city, year-by-year, since August 6, 1945. The immediate aftermath of the atomic bombing is graphically recalled, of course, but the bulk of the book is a photo-with-text account of the rebuilding of the city, the plight of the survivors of the bombing and the many extraordinary peace campaigns that have originated in Hiroshima. An excellent and unique view of the "other" Hiroshima. (\$40, plus \$2 postage from Foundation for International Understanding, COSMOS America Project, #22, 1482 Beacon St., Brookline, MA 02146 617-566-5245.)

FROM ORGANIZATIONS

A Basic Primer on "Star Wars" for the Legitimately Confused, by Women Strike for Peace. The group that in 1961 focused public concern on "what they have done to the rain"—contamination of cow's milk with radioactive fallout from atmospheric weapons tests—takes on Star Wars as "an even more deadly threat to our children, ourselves, and future generations." The Q-and-A format clearly answers questions about how much Star Wars will cost, how it became policy, and what the Challenger disaster tells us about the program's shortcomings. (25¢ each; 15 or more: 20¢ each; bulk rates available from Women Strike for Peace, 145 S. 13 St., Room 706, Philadelphia, PA 19107 215-923-0861.)

Organizational Development: The Seven Deadly Sins, by Andrea Ayvazian. In 1985, as director of the Exchange Project for the Peace Development Fund, Ayvazian spent over 100 days on the road conducting "organizational development" workshops and meeting with activists in 44 states. In 1986, Ayvazian's covering even more ground. This 17-page booklet, adapted from Ayvazian's workshop, addresses what she has found to be the more common pitfalls hindering groups' progress. They include Founder's Disease ("At meetings of groups I visit, it is perfectly clear to me who has been part of that group for more than two years and who has not. I know exactly who the new kids on the block are: they sit there and they nod and they get the worst jobs"); lack of long-range planning; burnout; growth-with-no-plan; no clear lines of accountability ("We need not be so afraid of hierarchy. It can be a relief for people to know whom they answer to and what they are responsible for"); poor or non-existent office systems ("Once when I asked to see a group's financial files and records, they pulled out an entire file simply marked '1982'"); and horrendous meetings. This useful and upbeat guide offers concrete advice for sidestepping these organizational traps. (\$4 from the Peace Development Fund, PO Box 270, Amherst, Massachusetts 01004 413-256-0216.)

Regional Conflicts, Military Intervention, and the Threat of Nuclear War.

This, the third in a series of local media briefing packets, includes two-page briefing papers and op-ed commentaries, as well as longer background papers and suggestions on how to approach local media outlets. (\$2.50, including postage and handling, from the National Disarmament Program, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7171. Discounts available for orders of 10 or more.) □

The Final Stretch

The Great Peace March heads for D.C.

BY JAMES MOSKE

With 2100 miles behind them, several hundred members of the Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament entered Chicago in mid-August. Hundreds of Chicagoans were on hand to greet the marchers, including Mayor Harold Washington, who donated free water, sanitation services, and transportation throughout their four-day stay. While local coverage of the group's visit was excellent, the national media barely mentioned it. And though marchers estimate they netted \$20,000 in donations from the windy city, local organizers expressed some disappointment at the mediocre turnout—police and newspaper reports put it at under 1000—for the marchers' culminating rally in Lincoln Park.

But the group is heading for the east coast with the same single-minded determination that pushed it to Chicago. Sights are now set on arrival in Washington, D.C., scheduled for November 15. Singer Jackson Browne (who treated marchers to a moonlight serenade after a concert in Cedar Rapids, Iowa), and Senator Tom Harkin have promised to greet the march in the Capitol. A number of other events are planned, including a Pentagon rally and participation in the SANE-sponsored Citizens' Summit. The Washington offices of national groups such as Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament and Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), are also considering reception events of their own. (These groups, for the most part, have remained at a distance from the march, except to encourage their local affiliates to work with it. Many PSR members, for example, have volunteered medical services to marchers.)

A broad coalition of groups is planning to greet, and make use of, the Great Peace March (GPM) as it reaches New York City (October 23) and Philadelphia (November 1). But that is many miles away. For now, as the march travels through Ohio and western Pennsylvania, the focus is on grass-roots educational activities structured around programs such as "Marcher in the Home." While many peace activists have been surprised at how easy it is to find hundreds of families willing to take in marchers, it



Front line of marchers heading east

has frequently proven more difficult to convince hosts of the importance of the march's goal: global nuclear disarmament. Few are willing to commit themselves to action after a night of discussion and some skirt nuclear issues entirely. A more traditional grass-roots method such as leaflet distribution is also a march staple, and marchers deliver an average of 15 lectures a day in churches, schools and community centers.

It is difficult to assess the impact of these activities on public involvement in the disarmament movement. Jeremy Kaplan of Colorado Freeze Voter says that during the march's trek through the state over 11,000 new names were added to the group's mailing list. And the march has prompted many local church and social groups to undertake projects in support of disarmament. However, Helen Henry, coordinator of the Colorado Freeze Network, says that "there was a crescendo of activity in this community before the march," culminating in a rally attended by 3000 Denverites, but when the smoke cleared, few of the new faces introduced to the activist community stuck around. Says Henry, "I very much doubt that those who were all fired up by the march will remain active."

She points out though, that this is

not so much the fault of the march as it is of Denver peace groups. Patty Bates, assistant to the director at the Denver-based Western Solidarity agrees. "Once the march leaves," she says, "it's up to [local peace groups] to follow up with outreach."

But many marchers have expressed hopes of invigorating the already-activist community as well, and in some cases they have been successful. Nebraskans for Peace (NfP), a recently formed 2500 member coalition in the state, had done little to utilize their organization before the march's June arrival. "Having [the marchers] come through helped us to mobilize the network," says NfP's former state coordinator Anne Radford. The coalition's five affiliate groups coordinated advance media, police, and support work for the march. "The Great Peace March," says Radford, "helped us to identify how valuable this network can be."

"There are a lot of new groups involved in preparation for the march," says Greater Cleveland Freeze member Jani Wanner. "Progressive" organizations such as food co-ops, for example, have become involved in the coalition effort to support the march during its September trek through Ohio.

Only time will tell how successful the march has been in galvanizing grass-roots disarmament support. And only money will enable it to continue the attempt. It costs \$2000 a day to keep "Peace City" moving towards the Capitol. This overhead is met primarily through small donations, though occasionally large grants from celebrities such as Yoko Ono (who kicked in \$10,000) are still being received. But it is day to day grass-roots work and innovations in the group's finance department that have played the greatest role in keeping the march in the black. Entrepreneurial marchers are now hawking t-shirts, bumper stickers and buttons—a pursuit previously frowned upon. And an ambitious direct mail campaign has been undertaken using computers traveling with the march.

Some marchers are already formulating post-November plans. Dan Chavez, a member of the GPM's board of directors and its legal advisor, says that the possibility of a Great Peace March through the south—a region missed this time around—is being explored, as is a well-publicized fast. Some marchers want to take Peace City to Moscow, says GPM's New York staffer Lee Bush, who adds that another idea is to establish a permanent Washington peace encampment in order to lobby Congress members. "This part of the march is only the beginning," says Chavez. "We can't be satisfied with just crossing the country. The goal is nuclear disarmament." □

IDEAS THAT WORK

Real estate: Some activists, in the Age of Gentrification, shun it on principle; others are discovering that owning a piece of the block is preferable to pouring cash down the rental drain every month.

In Baltimore, for example, when members of the Maryland Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze were told that the building where they were renting space was being sold, they investigated buying it themselves. That didn't pan out, but in the process they discovered another building on the market, also located on "non-profit row," an interracial neighborhood 25 blocks from downtown Baltimore. By coincidence, the three-story, gray stone building already housed Albert Donnay and his nuclear-free-zone clearinghouse, Nuclear Free America (NFA), and Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR).

The Freeze now owns the building and rents space to Donnay, PSR, and MaryCOSH (Maryland Committee on Occupational Safety and Health). As the leasing groups pay rent, and the mortgage gets paid off, they will gain equity in the building, explains Kye Briesath, state coordinator of the Freeze. "Eventually, we'll all own the building together," says Briesath.



The Freeze raised the money to close the deal by relying on the kindness of members: approximately one-third of the \$44,000 raised came from donations. The rest materialized in loans—all of them at very low interest, and none of them from banks. The Campaign encouraged investors to set their own payment schedules and interest rates (the highest was six percent).

"We just called members from all over the state," Briesath says. "One guy

is a member of a religious order which loaned us \$15,000. Another woman lent us \$6000 from her retirement account."

The advantages of ownership are both immediate and deferred. "It's not much cheaper for us now in terms of monthly payments," Briesath says, "but in seven years when the loans are paid off it will be dirt cheap." Plus, she adds, "it helps us to feel more grounded and more legitimate. We're not becoming capitalist pigs, but it helps us to feel like respected members of the community." There's also the security of knowing you'll never be thrown out of the building, and comfort derived from the built-in support system of in-house collaborators who can share volunteers.

The residents of what is now known as the "Maryland Peace Center" have put together a "management team" of representatives from each organization to work out rental fees, lease agreements and cleaning and maintenance schedules for the building. "Put everything in writing, and make it very clear who does what," advises Briesath. "In this kind of situation, there is no room for ambiguity."

"We look back and ask ourselves why we didn't do this years ago," says Donnay. He adds that when the Freeze moved in he finally got a window fixed that his former landlord had ignored for three years. And since the large Maryland Peace Center sign has gone up, Donnay says, the groups' collective profile has been raised. "The community is beginning to know us," Donnay says. "People see the sign and call us."

Meanwhile, in North Carolina, Kitty Boniske has taken a "leap of faith" and closed on a \$52,000 house a couple of blocks from downtown Asheville. "The peace community here was rootless," Boniske says. "We needed a physical center, a place where people could come together. We so often have groups running off in different directions, planning things that conflict with one another." Furthermore, Boniske adds, as in many small towns, peace groups in Asheville don't have their own offices, and meet instead in various churches and private houses. Boniske plans to rent the top floor of the building to help pay the mortgage, and expects donations and contributions will help defray her initial outlay. "Peace groups will have to pay the taxes on the house, and other maintenance expenses," Boniske says. If you or someone you know would like to take matters into your own hands in the same way, contact Boniske at PO Box 5855, Asheville, NC 28813 (704) 684-6680, and Briesath at 325 E 25 St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 467-6500.

—Renata Rizzo

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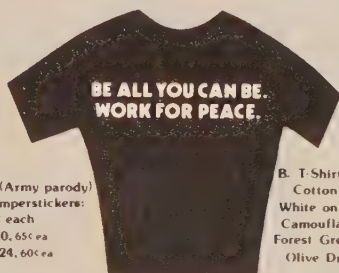
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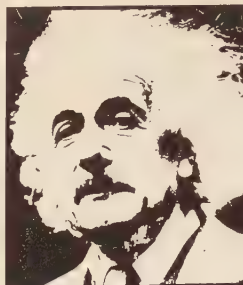
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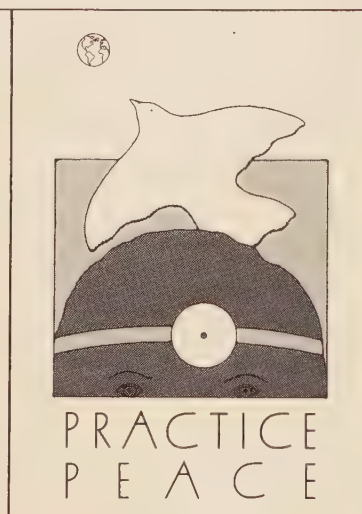
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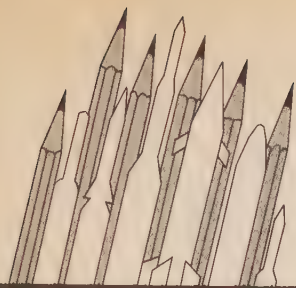
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SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1986

VOL. I, NO. 4

The Administration's Long Knives And the Hazards of Nationalism

by Ronnie Dugger

When reporters' professional duties bring them into conflict with ways they are expected to think and act as citizens of their own countries, should they be citizens first and reporters second? Do journalists have international responsibilities? These questions and their underlying subject, the nationality of a reporter, are usually submerged somewhere in journalism's unconscious. But they have emerged into the moonlight in recent months during what we may call the Spring and Summer of the Long Knives for reporters covering the Reagan administration.

Patrick Buchanan, the iconoclastic right-wing ideologue who is now White House director of communications, posed the issue dramatically. On the night of February 26, a speech by President Reagan on behalf of his military buildup had ended sooner than expected. Improvising to fill in a half-hour slot, ABC network news let the Soviet spokesman-journalist Vladimir Posner rebut Mr. Reagan for seven minutes, rather than the two or three that had been intended originally. In a letter cleared with presidential Chief of Staff Donald T. Regan, Buchanan delivered to the president of ABC News, Rooney Arledge, this pronouncement:

"It is our belief that the debate over what America requires—to defend herself, her allies and friends from the awesome military power of the Soviet Union—is a debate for Americans to conduct. Soviet propagandists have no legitimate role in that discussion."

ABC News blanched, apologized, parried, and fell into a clinch. Its senior vice president, Richard C. Wald, said: "Reluctantly, I tend to agree that Vladimir Posner was allowed too much scope on our program last night. There is nothing wrong with asking a Soviet spokesman for his view on a presidential speech concerning American posture in relation to the Russians. . . . Our production error was in letting him push on at too great a length without an opposing voice to point out the errors and inconsistencies in what he said." The president of CBS News, Van Gordon Sauter, hung back from the debate, making a few irrelevant observations.

However, Lawrence K. Grossman, president of NBC News, responded forthrightly. "I disagree with the White House," he said. "It is appropriate, when the president is accusing the Soviet Union of aggressive behavior, to get a perspective from the people on the other side. . . . I think it was a good thing to do."

Benjamin Bradlee, executive editor of *The Washington Post*, sided with Buchanan on this central issue. Bradlee said it was not proper to let a Soviet spokesman address an American issue through the American news media. "You don't go to a Nazi for an opinion on a domestic dispute in Israel," he added. "There are two sides in a democratic society. Communism is not a third side." Buchanan, in his letter to Arledge, had also raised the specter of Hitler, asking: "Would you have felt it an expression of fair and balanced journalism if, in the 1930s, Mr. Churchill's calls for the rearmament of his country were immediately followed by the BBC's granting of an un rebutted commentary to some functionary for the Third Reich?"

Buchanan and the administration had drawn blood, but blood was drawn in return. After Buchanan labeled Posner a Soviet propagandist, Julius Duschka, director of the Washington Journalism Center, retorted, in a column in *The Chicago Tribune*, that "it takes one to know one. Buchanan, like the Russian he complained about, is nothing more nor less than a propagandist himself." In fact, Duschka continued, some Russian propaganda "may not be as misleading as some of Reagan's egregious misstatements on a wide variety of issues."

As the Long Spring and Summer unfolded, the main thrust of the Buchanan Doctrine became clear: the definition of the responsibilities of U.S. reporters and editors in terms of their nationality rather than their profession. By stressing nationality, Buchanan and his superiors aimed to convince reporters that they are part of the security apparatus of the government—or if they aren't they'd better watch out.

For instance: NBC News ran a three-and-a-half-minute interview with Abul Abbas, the terrorist who said that terror will be carried to the U.S. itself and that Reagan was his enemy number one. To get the interview NBC had agreed to Abbas' one condition, that his whereabouts not be revealed. Robert Oakley, head of the State Department's office on counter-terrorism, called this agreement "reprehensible" and accused NBC of becoming, in effect, the terrorist's "accomplice." Philip Geyelin, a venerable presence in *The Washington Post* editorial section, agreed with the government as Bradlee had with Buchanan. Concerning Oakley's "accomplice" charge and State Department spokesman Charles Redman's observation that the NBC interview encouraged terrorist activities, Geyelin wrote: "They're both right."

In stressing the nationality of American reporters, the Buchanan Doctrine also touches the controversy over government leaks. Already, in the case of Samuel Loring Morison, the naval intelligence analyst charged

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with selling U.S. satellite photos of a Soviet aircraft carrier to a British defense magazine, the administration had obtained the conviction of a government official for leaking information without showing that the information damaged U.S. security. In May, William Casey, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, was revealed to be discussing the possibility of prosecuting *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *The Washington Times* for publishing information about U.S. intelligence-gathering.

According to *Time*, Casey told Bradlee that he was considering asking the Justice Department to sue the *Post* for reporting on U.S. interception of messages between Libya and its East Berlin mission. Under threat of prosecution (which at least suggests prior restraint), Bradlee held up a story by Bob Woodward dealing with U.S. collection of intelligence on the Soviet Union.

The *Post* also deleted 150 words from one of its stories on the spy trial of Ronald W. Pelton. Daniel Schorr quoted Bradlee as saying that the *Post* suppressed the main substance of the story even though the editors were convinced that national security was not involved. In a long account of the *Post*'s negotiations with government officials about sensitive stories, Bradlee asked: "Do these men really think that the people who run the *Post* would betray their country?" This year the *Post* withheld information from a dozen stories for national security reasons, but "we do not allow the government—or anyone else—to decide what we should print," Bradlee added.

On May 28, Casey and the director of the National Security Agency, Lt. Gen. William E. Odom, issued this statement concerning the Pelton trial: "Those reporting on the trial should be cautioned against speculation and reporting details beyond the information actually released at trial. Such speculations and additional facts are not authorized disclosures and may cause substantial harm to the national interest." National Public Radio plainly took a risk by subsequently broadcasting an interview about the trial with James Bamford, the author of the basic book on the National Security Agency, *The Puzzle Palace*.

Like Buchanan in his rebuke to ABC, Casey and Odom were sounding and acting more like editors than the government officials they are. The chiefs of the CIA and the NSA, who within the government are czars of information, were here cautioning American journalists not to speculate about, not to investigate in order to confirm and amplify, and thus implicitly not to dispute the information from the government. Suppose that, however superfluously, the head of the KGB had made exactly this statement to Soviet journalists concerning a trial, and the statement had somehow leaked to the Western press. Would we not have pounced upon this as yet another confirmation of the nature of Soviet journalism as an agency of the state?

Or let's run another thought experiment. Suppose that President Reagan unilaterally stopped nuclear

weapons testing by the United States and challenged the Soviets to do the same thing, but the Soviets called this mere propaganda. Suppose that rather than joining in the U.S. moratorium, General Secretary Gorbachev invited Reagan to send U.S. observers to the next Soviet test. Suppose that Reagan thrice extended the U.S. moratorium, each time appealing to the Soviets to join in, but that each time Soviet spokesmen passed it off as more propaganda and the U.S.S.R. continued testing. Would not most of the American press take these events as proof that the U.S. wants peace, but the Soviet Union is bent on attaining nuclear superiority? Why, then, in response to Gorbachev and Reagan having done and said just these things, but in reverse, has the American press in the main agreed with Reagan that the year-long Soviet moratorium is only propaganda? Perhaps the answer is that many American journalists lack courage or are afflicted by myopia, when the logic of events might impel them to condemn an American administration and at the same time commend something the Soviet Union has done.

This is the area of weakness in the press that the administration is now probing. Casey, in his discussions with media people, has been citing the Communications Act of 1950, which makes it a crime, punishable by imprisonment and fines, to communicate, furnish, or publish classified communications intelligence "in any way prejudicial to the safety or interest of the United States." Now the U.S. Senate has passed a bill providing that anyone convicted of espionage would "forfeit all property" used in committing the offense, apparently meaning that the government could confiscate *The New York Times*, say, or *The Washington Post*. The sponsor, Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), said he did not intend any such thing. But the bill says what it says.

As the offensive against the press continued into the summer, people's thoughts began turning toward the idea that the administration really wants an Official Secrets Act modeled on the notorious British one. In June, Casey telephoned the writers and publishers of two books nearing release (one about the CIA, the other about the shoot-down of the Korean passenger jet in 1983) to warn them that they could be violating the law if the works contained secret "communications intelligence." One of the principal players, Robert L. Bernstein, the president of Random House, said the calls reminded him of the way information is suppressed under the British act. In an article in the June-July issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Scot Powe, a law professor at the University of Texas, contended that the Morison case is suggestive of the British law and practice. At midsummer Daniel Schorr wrote, in an op-ed piece in *The New York Times*, that "the Reagan administration in recent months appears to have laid the foundation for an Unofficial Secrets Act" which he compared to the British law.

The Spring and Summer of the Long Knives leads one into such broodings about the nature of journalism. The U.S. press is free; it is also American. Its strong

strain of nationalism is hardly unique. At the summit meeting in Geneva last November, one could see, physically, the national character of the world press. Perhaps by looking back upon that event in the shadows cast ahead by recent events we can contrive some "cautions" for ourselves as we head for the next summit meeting, if there is one.

At Geneva, the Soviet journalists, in keeping with their role as government functionaries, were confined in a closed-off area on an upper level of the international conference center where the main public events of the summit were staged. A ten-minute walk away, hundreds of American reporters worked at their typewriters and computer consoles in a large ballroom at the headquarters hotel. The rest of "the world press" worked in the capacious basement of the conference center. Here one could see what seemed to be an international press. But like the Soviets and the Americans, these Greeks, En-



glishmen, Israelis, Japanese, were sending their stories back to their own countries, each reporter or correspondent writing or speaking in his or her own nation's language to his or her own home city or nation.

By any standard that might logically arise from the grimly obvious judgment that nuclear weapons threaten humanity and that therefore the nuclear arms race should at least be slowed down, the Geneva summit was a failure. Conceding that the principal agreements—that Reagan and Gorbachev would meet again twice, that the Soviet foreign secretary and the American secretary of state would meet regularly, and that cultural exchanges would increase—all suggested future progress, the failure of the summit was nevertheless stunning.

As George Shultz said, there was "no give" in Reagan's insistence on his Strategic Defense Initiative and the General Secretary's counterinsistence that there could be no cutbacks in strategic nuclear weapons systems unless space-war research was sharply limited and controlled. There was no give, either, in Reagan's refusal to join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing or to consider resuming negotiations for a comprehensive test-ban treaty. On what counted, there was a deadly impasse.

On home turf, the American press (on Watergate, elections, acid rain, corruption in labor and business) is really free, unpredictable, unruly, and, when so inclined, disrespectful. But sitting at their writing machines in that ballroom hour after hour, day after day, the American reporters at Geneva seemed passive.

An explanation presents itself: that on international matters, especially when our national posture is as embarrassing as it is now on nuclear arms control, the great American press corps can be controlled through its citizenship and patriotism.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, Secretary Caspar Weinberger's man at the summit and the real winner there, consented in the foyer of the hotel to answer a reporter's questions, and soon about seven or eight of us had surrounded him for an impromptu press conference. In our ragged little circle we were all Americans, or so it seemed. The questions were softballs. Perle was saying that we had won the summit because the Soviets hadn't walked out and had agreed to meet again while we hadn't given an inch on S.D.I.

I asked a question that was simple enough: What were the implications of the outcome of the summit for the future of nuclear arms control treaties? Perle may have perceived the question as coming from outside our national enclosure: in any case, he replied by referring to "we" and "they," to Americans and Soviets, *to us and them*. He is a brilliant man and may have known he was doing this. And we *were* all Americans, official and reporters, and in this together. Right?

Right, but in it with the rest of the world, too. Nuclear weapons pose a unique challenge to national journalism, somehow to reconcile the national and the international, to see and report one's own country as part of the whole human race, wholly jeopardized. Just as the radiation released at Chernobyl "needed no passport," nuclear weapons are not constrained by the flags on the sides of their rockets.

Has government secrecy about nuclear weapons actually turned each of the nuclear nations' national press corps into propaganda organs, or at best national public relations corps? Through government secrecy, do not *all* the nuclear governments, including those in the nations with a free press, turn journalism into a subordinate agency of state? If so, we have much to think about. Consider, for just one example, the appalling ethical implications, for the reporter as citizen as well as for the reporter as reporter, of consenting to be kept in the dark about U.S. targeting policy in the event of nuclear war.

As professional journalists, what are our international responsibilities? The question seems to have eluded us. Perhaps, as at Geneva and during the Spring and Summer of the Long Knives, the question frightens us. But perhaps, if we ask the question, and answer that reporters do have responsibilities to the human race no less than national leaders do, we will make our way to the second summit as more than sportswriters for the home team.

RONNIE DUGGER, a Center Associate, is working on a book about the ethical implications of nuclear weapons. He is the author of On Reagan: The Man and His Presidency (McGraw-Hill) and is publisher of The Texas Observer.

'We Keep America on Top of the World'

EDITOR'S NOTE: DURING A RECENT high-level meeting of CBS Evening News executives, the debate over Dan Rather's fall wardrobe grew so intense that Deadline was able to obtain unnoticed a copy of the top-secret CBS Stylebook for Covering Soviet-American Relations. In the excerpts that follow we have concentrated on passages with quotations from Rather himself:

ARMS CONTROL

1) American Proposals—Always characterize official U.S. statements on arms control as *prodding* the Soviets, suggesting that the administration wants an agreement but the U.S.S.R. does not. For example, when Mr. Rather reported the president's announcement that he intended to abrogate SALT II, he said: "President Reagan *prodded* Moscow again on arms control [May 27, 1986]." Or: "[Secretary of State George] Shultz repeated President Reagan's *prodding* of Moscow to live up to SALT II [May 30, 1986]." When the president took a more conciliatory approach in a speech in Glassboro, New Jersey, Mr. Rather nimbly stayed with the verb: "In more maneuvering between Washington and Moscow, President Reagan used more carrot and less stick tonight in a speech *prodding* the Soviets. He *prodded* them both on arms control and a new summit meeting [June 19, 1986]."

2) Soviet Proposals—In referring to Soviet arms control initiatives, the words *proposal* and *offer* should always be closely followed or preceded by the words *propaganda* or *public relations*. For example: "Touring East Germany today, Soviet leader [Mikhail] Gorbachev kept up a string of *proposals* and *PR*, much of it aimed at trying to influence Western Europe [April 21, 1986]." Or: "Gorbachev had just spent days and weeks doing *public relations*, photo opportunities and arms control *proposals* by the hand-ful, much of it designed to win

friends and influence people in Western Europe [April 30, 1986]." Note, too, how Mr. Rather can adhere to this important rule and keep his anchoring tight at the same time: "White House officials tell correspondent Lesley Stahl that the latest Soviet *offer*, made public over the weekend, is considered a *propaganda* ploy [June 30, 1986]."

OFFICIAL

The world *official* is an extremely useful modifier in telling our viewers that while we're passing along information about the Soviet Union we don't believe it and neither should they. For example: "Yet still another *official* version of the Chernobyl disaster casualty count from the Soviets [May 28, 1986]." Or: "Again today, the *official* Soviet line was to say that everything's fine [April 30, 1986]."

PARTY LINE

Use this important phrase when reporting on Soviet political change to make clear CBS knows that the U.S.S.R. remains the same monolithic totalitarian dictatorship it was before the change occurred. "Soviet and foreign reporters got a rare look inside Soviet mission control today near Moscow, but they got the same old *party line* from two cosmonauts up in space, answering screened-in-advance questions from their new Soviet space station [April 7, 1986]." Or, notice how Mr. Rather deftly uses the phrase to dismiss the significance of any change that may have taken place at the last Communist Party Congress before we even tell our viewers what happened there: "Wyatt Andrews reports on a Party Congress that shook the party but not the *party line* [March 3, 1986]." When use of *party line* grows repetitive, substitute *rubber-stamp*, as in: "The Soviet parliament, or Supreme Soviet, met today. It *rubber-stamped* the latest five-year economic plan [March 7, 1986]."

SOVIET ACHIEVEMENTS

Attempt to reduce their significance through the use of appropriate imagery and by invidious comparison with American achievements, to wit: "Two cosmonauts took a four-hour space walk and built *castles in the distant sky, Soviet style*. . . . The Soviets didn't say what this empire-building in the sky was all about, but in late 1985 American shuttle astronauts conducted *very much the same experiments with potential building blocks for a U.S. space station* [May 28, 1986]."

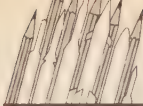
THE PREGNANT PAUSE

Timing is all here, but if properly done it can be very effective in casting doubt on Soviet statements when the facts themselves are unknown or in dispute. For example: "The White House response to Gorbachev: Both his attack and his offer amount to (pause) posturing [April 18, 1986]." Or: "Wyatt Andrews in Moscow begins our coverage of the official Soviet view (pause) and the clouds of doubt about it almost everywhere else [April 30, 1986]."

WHAT IT. . .

In reporting Soviet statements, separate the verb in the sentence from its direct object with the phrases *what it says* or *what it called*. These phrases are valuable for providing our report with an anti-Soviet spin. For example: "The Soviet Union says it is ending *what it says* has been its own moratorium on nuclear weapons tests [April 11, 1986]." Or: "Even as the Soviets stuck to their official story of only two dead, no more fire, no more radiation, Moscow did acknowledge for the first time today that there were *what it called* 197 people injured and hospitalized [April 30, 1986]."

—Tony Kaye

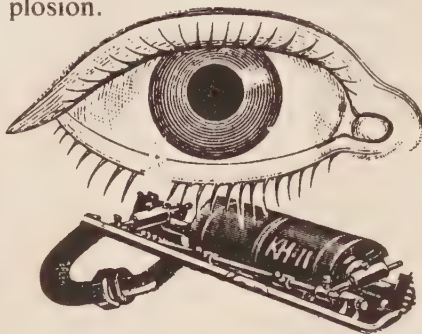


What 'Crisis' in Intelligence Gathering?

WITH MUCH RINGING OF ALARM bells, *The New York Times* reported last April that the United States had lost its last KH-11 spy satellite when a Titan rocket exploded at Vandenberg Air Force Base. Three major stories by the reliable William Broad made it clear that the *Times* viewed the KH-11 loss as a serious blow to intelligence gathering and possibly to the arms control process itself (see "Not Enough Questions About the Titan's 'Secret Payload,'" *Deadline*, July/August 1986).

On July 3, however, the paper reported in a rather offhand fashion that a "Big Bird" satellite—the lesser KH-9—had probably been atop the Titan, the view taken in April by *Aviation Week and Space Technology* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. The *Times*' revisionism

was buried in the middle of a UPI story on page A25 that was otherwise devoted to recounting the probable cause of the rocket's explosion.



Neither on July 3, nor in any issue of the *Times* up to this writing, has the paper attempted to explain to its readers whether a crisis still exists in the critical area of satellite photo reconnaissance. On the con-

trary, readers who follow this subject could be excused for becoming totally confused after reading the Sunday Book Review on July 13. In reviewing a book about the C.I.A., James Bamford, an intelligence expert, supported the original KH-11 thesis.

Neither Broad nor the *Times* can fairly be expected to nail down precisely what was on the Titan when it exploded. The government doesn't want anyone to know. But the paper certainly ought to be able to offer a little assistance to the wary reader of arms control stories. If the editors now believe the satellite was not the highly valued KH-11, then why not a front-page reassessment of the "crisis" in intelligence gathering?

—David M. Rubin

Ted Turner: 'Captain Outrageous' Or an Ambassador of Goodwill?

by Jay Rosen

Ted Turner's Goodwill Games in July presented a problem for the press: how seriously should they be taken? There was plenty of evidence for calling the games a dud. Television ratings were extremely low, many top athletes—including all the best American swimmers and the Cuban boxers—stayed home, and there was no agency behind the games with the worldwide authority of the International Olympic Committee. But the real problem in taking the games seriously was Ted Turner himself. Did he truly believe he could help the cause of world peace—the stated goal of the games—or was he just out to further his daredevil image and make a few bucks? Who is Ted Turner, anyway? Dupe of the Russian propaganda machine, hardheaded businessman, egomaniac with the money and the means to perform in public, or a millionaire flower child?

The difficulty the press had in interpreting the event was reflected in the names given to Turner and the games. "Mr. Big in Moscow," is how Frank Dolson of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* described Turner. "The ancient mariner of Atlanta," wrote George Vecsey of *The New York Times*. In *USA Today* Turner was "the Mouth of the South" and "Captain Outrageous." Vecsey termed the games "Ted Turner's summer jamboree;" Dolson said they were the "pseudo-Olympics;" Howard Cosell called them a "lower case olympics" and "capitalism

gone mad in Moscow." "A grandiose gathering of peace and love, perhaps the largest gathering of that sort since Woodstock," wrote Randy Harvey in *The Los Angeles Times*. Vecsey picked up on this theme as well, calling Turner a "child of nature." "Brother Love's Traveling Salvation Show" is how Skip Myslenski of *The Chicago Tribune* put it.

As a sporting event the Goodwill games were simple to cover. Three world records were broken, scores and medal counts could be listed daily, and a couple of quotable controversies broke out, one involving allegations that the Russian pole vaulter Sergei Bubka used drugs to improve his performance. ("Sounds like sour grapes to me," said Turner.) Nor did the press have any difficulty portraying the Soviet government's role in the games. All the coverage of the opening ceremonies stressed how the Soviets wanted to make a good impression after losing the opportunity to do so in 1980 when the U.S. boycotted the summer Olympics in Moscow. All of the stories quoted Gorbachev's remarks about advancing the cause of peace, in which he said the Soviet Union is "expecting a serious reply" to its proposals from those responsible for the arms race—namely, Washington. Reporters were also able to focus on the measures the government took to make things run smoothly—cutting off traffic into Moscow, seeding the clouds before the event, speeding up the bureaucracy for foreigners connected with the games.

It was easy to report on this aspect because it concerned a government in charge of a problem that was clearly part of its turf. The press has frames of reference

for that. But what was a broadcaster and yachtsman doing trying to end the arms race? Or, as Cosell put it, "Who made Ted Turner secretary of state?" The *New York Daily News* pursued this line throughout the event. Sports columnist Mike Lupica said the games were about Turner throwing back a few vodkas and "getting to play George Shultz for a couple of weeks." The *News* also carried a short UPI item in which former Georgia governor Lester Maddox (hardly a name in the news these days) advised Turner to take up "permanent citizenship" in Cuba or Moscow. *USA Today* contributed to the "how dare you" tone with a hostile interview by Tom Weir which included the question, "Why have you been so critical of U.S. defense policies?"

Turner no doubt provoked some of this sentiment by having a mixed agenda—profits, publicity for himself, and peacemaking were all on the list. He can also be crude—some would say obnoxious—as when he emerged from Lenin's tomb to say that the Soviet hero "looked a little pale." International politics are obviously not his strong suit. As Vecsey of the *Times* put it, Turner came to Moscow "with almost biblical innocence." Certainly he was innocent of any sophisticated understanding of the arms race, as were the athletes who traveled around the world at Turner's expense promoting the games and their goal of friendly competition.

But here is where a dangerous bias can begin to creep in. By the standards of "Meet the Press," Turner has nothing to say on questions of war and peace; his views are at best naive. And by the standards of the arms control beat, the Goodwill Games were a non-event, a publicity blip which had little effect on relations between the superpowers. (It was no accident that almost all the articles on the games were bylined by sports reporters.) But perhaps there is a problem with these standards. For there is the one dimension to the arms race that experts and government officials cannot represent—its meaning in the lives of ordinary citizens.

Turner's views on the arms race are not unique. Indeed, they are almost a perfect reflection of common-sense sentiments which have found expression in many causes other than the Goodwill Games. These efforts share a philosophy whose outlines are clear. First, a frustration with the inability of politicians to solve world problems like the arms race. Second, a global rather than nationalist perspective, often focused on concern for the planet. Third, and related to the global perspective, a strong emphasis on nature—the love of nature, human nature as a common bond, the arms race as a sin against Mother Nature, etc. Fourth, a deep faith in communication as a way of "overcoming boundaries" and emphasizing the common world all people share. Fifth, an emphasis on personal responsibility embodied in the phrase "we are the world."

Consider the following remarks made by Turner in interviews with the press: "I love my country very much. But I must say I love all people all over the world, and we better start loving each other or we're going to blow each other to kingdom come."

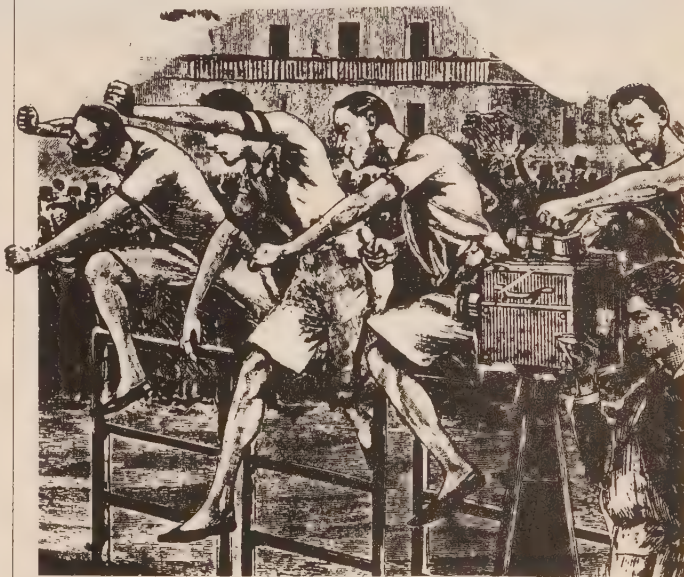
"When you got a problem, you don't break down the little bit of communication you got. We could all be dead, and for what? We didn't take the time to talk."

"Our leaders say we can't trust 'em. How can you trust 'em if you don't know 'em? The best way to know them is through sports."

"I know all about them generals in Red Square on May Day, but then you go into the park and you see all the kids, and you think 'Geez'."

"My son bought a cat at a pet fair here. My son's got a commie cat. But it's just like a capitalist cat."

It is easy enough to dismiss these ramblings as sentimental glop. Of course, one would have to dismiss not just Ted Turner but a host of other causes which sound the same commonsense themes. The Samantha Smith Foundation, for example, was started by the mother of the little girl who had written Yuri Andropov about peace and received an invitation to the Soviet Union. The group is sponsoring an exchange of Russian and American schoolchildren. Phil Donahue has been hosting a series of "space bridges" linking Soviet and American citizens by satellite, hoping to improve communication between the two antagonistic nations. Both efforts share with the Goodwill Games the faith in communication and mutual exchange as a way of overcoming political differences. Recent efforts to wipe out world hunger tap into the same sentiments, from the "We Are the World" recording session and Live Aid benefit concerts to the World Runners, who compete in races all over



the globe to draw attention to the problem of hunger. The Greens in West Germany and Austria are more political than Ted Turner, but they share the same philosophy, as do the peace and environmental movements in this country.

Recently one American environmental group took matters into its own hands, just as Turner did in organizing the Goodwill Games. The Natural Resources Defense Council negotiated an agreement with the Soviet government to exchange scientists who would monitor the force of underground explosions. The goal is to

prove that a nuclear test ban treaty is verifiable, and the NRDC seems well on its way to demonstrating just that. The press has covered the story as a serious development on the arms control beat, affording it a respect the Goodwill Games did not get. It is not hard to see why. The NRDC people are *scientists*, after all, and even if no one appointed them—just as no one appointed Turner—they at least know a lot of things journalists do not. Moreover, their actions fit neatly into the arms control issue as currently framed in the press. The verification problem has held up a new test ban treaty, and a test ban treaty has been the subject of many news stories.

By contrast, Ted Turner's views exist in a realm un-

touched by the "reality" of arms control and international politics as rendered each day in the news. But this reality fails to touch the lives of many people who, like Turner, cannot understand why we can't get together and stop this thing. Reporters may regret the simple-mindedness of this sentiment, but they should not underestimate its power. Ted Turner's vision of peace is crude and impractical, but it has the virtue of making sense to many people. It communicates, which is part of what journalism is all about.

JAY ROSEN is a Center Associate and an assistant professor in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at New York University.



The Deep, Dark Stealth Project: The Pentagon's Worst-Kept Secret

by Sylvia C. Steinert

In 1980, President Reagan called the Stealth project "the most highly secret weapons information since the atom bomb." Indeed, the Air Force has yet to even acknowledge the existence of its Advanced Tactical Fighter (ATF) and is almost as mute on the subject of its Advanced Technology Bomber (ATB). Both these Stealth planes are designed to sneak invisibly past Soviet radar, but so far they haven't even managed to slip by U.S. reporters. A survey of nine newspapers between September 1985 and July 1986 reveals that any reader who cared could learn quite a bit about the "secret" planes.

Both the fighter and the bomber are designed to absorb and deflect radar and electronic tracking signals, thus allowing them to enter Soviet airspace undetected. These basic facts have been reported this year by *The Boston Globe* (BG), *The Chicago Tribune* (CT), *The Los Angeles Times* (LAT), *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (PI), *The New York Times* (NYT), *The San Diego Union* (SDU), *The Washington Post* (WP), and *The Washington Times* (WT).

On April 14, the NYT reported that the bomber

weighed 365,000 pounds and had a triangular design that avoided sharp edges. The configuration was described as well by the WP and the SDU, which also reported (July 12) that the fighter was believed to "resemble the space shuttle." In the same story, the SDU estimated the fighter's length at between thirty-five and sixty feet, said it was built largely of carbon and epoxy composite materials and produced no more than a hum from a distance of one hundred feet.

The bomber construction program calls for six prototypes and 132 models to be delivered in the 1990s, according to articles this year in the NYT, CT, SDU, LAT and WP. Seventy-two fighters are projected, of which twenty-four (a squadron) have already been built by the Lockheed Corporation, according to the PI, SDU, and CT. Most testing of the fighter is believed to take place at Groom Lake and the Tonopah test ranges near Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada (NYT, PI, SDU, LAT).

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger puts the cost of the 132 bombers at \$277 million each—\$81 billion total in 1981 dollars, according to stories this year in *USA Today* as well as the LAT, NYT, PI, SDU, and WP. The program cost for 750 fighters is \$45 billion (WP). While the CT, LAT, SDU, WT, and NYT all have reported that the Stealth planes will be ready for deployment in the 1990s, the NYT included some skepticism in its forecast. On April 19, reporter Nicholas D. Kristof noted that there are "nebulous" rumors circulating on

Capitol Hill that the bomber may be one year behind schedule and \$1 billion over cost estimates.

In the same story, Kristof reported that the Northrop Corporation was constructing a new facility in Palm-dale, Calif., for work on the bomber, for which the company has received \$30 million. Kristof said the tan and white structure is fifty feet high and the length of several football fields. He also reported that employment at Northrop was expected to rise by 1,500 this summer.

Most of the papers that covered the July 11 crash of an Air Force plane believed to have been a Stealth fighter indicated the next day that there had been other ATF crashes. The LAT reported two to four other crashes, the NYT said it was not the first and put the last one in 1982, and the WP also said it was not the first crash.

According to the NYT, former Secretary of the Air Force Russell Rourke claimed last December that the Stealth bomber program was "on a smooth glide path" and "going along very, very nicely, and the technology is extraordinarily satisfying." The WP, however, published a piece by Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta that introduced some doubt. They wrote of the bomber's "dangerous lack of speed and maneuverability, its lack of stability in flight and its short range." They also suggested that Soviet radar already in place could detect even the Stealth, and because of the "agonizingly slow speed, the planes would be sitting ducks for Soviet jet fighters."

This jaundiced view of the Stealth capabilities was also advanced by Fred Kaplan in a July 27 BG piece, in which former and present Pentagon officials are quoted as saying the Stealth technology is basically flawed and that the planes are unlikely to be able to evade enemy radar. Kaplan's article ran with a detailed artist's conception of the "secret" fighter. The General Accounting Office has also revealed that 1,460 classified documents relating to the deep black ATF project are missing or improperly accounted for, according to stories in the WP, SDU, PI, CT, LAT, BG, and NYT.

Meanwhile, according to the CT, LAT, PI, SDU, and *USA Today*, American satellites have spotted what is believed to be a Soviet version of the Stealth fighter. Hugh Vickery, writing in the WT, acknowledges that the Soviets have developed the Sukhoi SU-27, a good match for the ATF, but quotes the comforting words of Air Force Col. Albert Piccirillo, director of the Stealth fighter program: ATF gives the Air Force "superiority over anything the Soviets are likely to develop before the end of the century."

Given the availability of Stealth information, it's hard to tell whether Pentagon security is leaky or the defense department is simply being disingenuous about its top secret program and actually wants the word out in hopes of spooking the Russians. Whatever the case, journalists and any other interested parties can get a good look at one version of the Stealth fighter by sending away to the Testor Corporation. The Rockford, Ill., model manufacturer has produced 200,000 kits, each with a foot-noted manual full of details about the ATF. "Our de-

Where To Find the Information

In its September issue, *Popular Science* magazine devotes eight pages to a cover story on the Stealth project, promising to unveil the "first glimpses of the invisible aircraft." A second glimpse might be more accurate, since newspapers have been chipping away at these secrets for many months (see accompanying article). What *Popular Science* does offer, however, is valuable insights into four different ways the media gain access to Stealth information.

- The number of Stealth aircraft built and their probable cost can be estimated from published information on the hiring of workers by defense contractors for classified or unacknowledged projects. Likewise, clues are offered by the revenues generated from work done on aircraft for which the companies have no apparent contracts.

- Experts on aerodynamic evolution, such as John Pike, an associate director of the Federation of American Scientists, need no quantum leap of imagination to guess at Stealth designs. Pike simply follows logically the "direction aerodynamics has been moving for the last ten years."

- Any novice, knowing that the essence of Stealth is invisibility to radar, can consult the *Radar Cross-Section Handbook*, a declassified document partially funded through the defense department. It includes, among other useful information, test data, equations, and overviews of design shapes that yield low radar reflection.

- Journalists seeking Stealth information frequently consult Bill Sweetman, who has made a hobby of the secret project by closely studying aerospace and military reports. He is technical editor of two European publications, *Interavia* and *International Defense Review*, and author of the recently published book *Stealth Aircraft*.

—S.C.S

signer worked four years on the model, using drawings and other information readily available to the public," Testor's public relations director John Dewey told UPI (June 16). "It seems you can't pick up an aviation magazine without reading about the Stealth." (Or *Popular Science*, see box.)

Testor's Stealth toy flew into a House hearing on the General Accounting Office charges August 11. According to the NYT, Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.) read aloud a description of the aircraft's characteristics from the package of "the Stealth model, known as the F-19." Immediately, Donald A. Hicks, the Pentagon's under secretary for research and engineering, interjected: "There is no F-19 program; it doesn't exist."

SYLVIA C. STEINERT is a Researcher at the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.



Local Coverage of Peace Issues Outshines the National Press

by Pamela Abrams

The oft-heard complaint that the news media ignore peace activities these days is, in fact, only partly justified. It is true that the major *national* news organizations do tend to regard the peace movement as about as important as a Sunday-school picnic. But coverage at the grassroots level, while far from what it could be, is a good deal better. David Cortright, executive director of SANE, reports that when he travels around the country he usually gets a story in the major daily as well as appearances on the evening television news and a radio talk show. "That would be about par for a regional market," Cortright says, echoing other activists' assessments of local media treatment.

Last November, for example, regional groups sent representatives to a Nuclear Freeze "action" at the atomic-test site in Nevada. Monica Green, executive director of the Greater Cleveland Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, let the media in her area know that six local people were participating in the protest. *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* ran an article the day they de-

Some Other Hotlines

Besides the Media Information Project referred to in the accompanying article, a number of other hotlines exist to help journalists and others parse and interpret the complexities of the arms debate. Three such hotlines are:

1) The Media Resource Service of the Scientists' Institute for Public Information. The service was established in 1980 to bridge the gap between the technical community and the public through the media. Callers are referred to one or more of the 20,000 expert sources—scientists, engineers, physicians, policy-makers—currently on file at the organization. SIPI's toll-free number is 800-223-1730 (212-661-9110 in New York State).

2) The Council for a Livable World. This three-minute taped message includes the latest information on arms control legislation and executive branch policy developments. The 24-hour-a-day hotline also offers a Weekly Action Request, with recommendations on how to influence arms control legislation. The number is 202-543-0006.

3) The Public Information Service of the Center for Defense Information. It was founded in 1972 to provide up-to-date and accurate assessments of the U.S. military. Staff research analysts provide information in response to requests from the press as well as members of Congress, students and foreigners. Call 202-862-0700 or 202-DEF-ENSE.

—S.B.

parted for Nevada, and another when they came back, under the headline: "Nuclear Protesters Return, Feel They Made Point." Twelve smaller Cleveland-area newspapers also covered the story, as did about ten radio stations. The NBC affiliate, WKYC-TV, ran an interview with two local men who had been arrested at the protest, coverage initiated by the publicity Green's organization put out. "The press, generally, was very receptive," she recalls.

So are the media in other communities. The Boston-based Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) reports that its activities also get excellent treatment by area newspapers and that local television and radio stations cover the organization's annual anti-nuclear Mother's Day parade. For fifteen years, Ethel Taylor, head of the Women Strike for Peace, has been writing a column about nuclear issues for the *Mainline Times*, a paper published twice weekly in suburban Philadelphia. Since 1981, Marjorie Drysdale has been editing a similar column, "Collision Course," for the *White River Valley Herald*, a weekly in Vermont.

In addition, a good number of local news organizations around the country demonstrate considerable aggressiveness on peace stories. For example, Terry Fitzpatrick, an investigative reporter for CBS affiliate KFBA-TV in Amarillo, has skillfully documented the activities of the Agape network, a Christian protest group. The Agapes hold vigils, educational seminars, and demonstrations along the route of trains carrying nuclear weapons.

Early last March, they turned back a train for the first time as it approached Amarillo's Pantex plant, where the Department of Energy assembles nuclear weapons. "I've been working on this investigative report for some time," said Fitzpatrick, "going to meetings of the Agapes, watching the trains with them, using telephoto [pictures] and topographic maps on the air to show viewers the train inside the plant. It's a good story." National Public Radio thought so too, and asked Fitzpatrick to recycle his reporting for the network's much wider audience, which he did.

But NPR is the consistent exception among the national media when it comes to sustained coverage of the peace movement. To the major dailies, the television networks, the news magazines, peace activity is largely a nonstory. In part, this is because the idea of peace is not nearly as macho an abstraction as "Star Wars." But national coverage is also discouraged by the considerable fragmentation of a movement that includes an estimated 6,000 groups in the United States alone. These organizations constantly compete for funds from the same pool of benefactors and often squabble over philosophical and political differences. As a result, the movement as a whole is seldom prepared to respond to issues of war and peace in a unified voice.

A growing number of peace organizations recognize this shortcoming and have recently stepped up their efforts to improve relations with the national media. The Committee for National Security and the Arms Control Association have joined forces and established the



Media Information Project, which features a 24-hour hotline (202-223-0555) that provides journalists with information on, and analysis of, arms-control issues. It also offers a list of seventy experts—among them McGeorge Bundy, Paul Warnke, and William Colby—who are available for interviews. Raymond Lane, director of public affairs for CNS, estimates that the hotline has received about 100 calls since it opened last November. (For other hotlines, see box opposite.)

The press secretaries of several peace groups now meet once a month in Washington to try to coordinate their publicity efforts. They have put together a "quick response press list" of leading news organizations to contact when peace news breaks, and have held a number of joint press conferences to respond to arms control developments around the world. One such coalition news conference took place last January, after Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev proposed the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. The event

drew a good turnout, including reporters from AP and UPI, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, and network news crews from ABC and CBS. But these journalists produced few stories.

"The problem was that [the news conference] occurred two-and-a-half days after the [Gorbachev] announcement," says Richard Pollock, whose public relations firm in Washington represents several peace groups. "It was old news by then. . . . The peace community needs to be prepared to respond more quickly. On the other hand, there was a time when it would have taken them a week to mount a press conference."

Even fast timing, however, is not usually enough to move the national media to give the peace story significant play. What the major news organizations respect are established institutions like themselves. Thus, last April, when the bishops of the United Methodist Church, with its 9.4 million members, came out against nuclear war and the strategy of deterrence, it was big news across the land. To publicize the bishops' pastoral letter, the Methodists sent releases to the 350 religion reporters and editors on their press list, and they hired Richard Pollock to help organize the public relations. "Television was still preoccupied with Chernobyl, so our coverage there was slimmer than we had hoped for, but the print media did a fantastic job," says Thomas McAnally, director of communications for the United Methodist Church.

Run Silent, Run Deep

THE THOUSANDS OF WORDS PUBLISHED and broadcast following the death of Adm. Hyman Rickover on July 8 again demonstrate that, even more than with other forms of journalism, the public effect of obituaries depends as much on what is not said about the subject as on what is.

Throughout the mainstream press, what emerged was a portrait of a crusty, brilliant, hard-driving visionary, whose battles with the Pentagon over waste and inefficiency, and with naval brass over everything else, were legendary. "Hyman George Rickover cared little for protocol, tradition or what other people thought of him, so long as he could do his job," *New York Times* reporter John W. Finney told readers. According to the account in *The Los Angeles Times*, by the time of his retirement Rickover "had battled with 14 defense secretaries, 16 secretaries of the Navy and a dozen chiefs of naval operations."

Reporters told the story of how a young immigrant entered Annapolis, rose through the ranks, was denied promotion and almost forced into early retirement by resentful superiors, only to prevail and eventually serve sixty-three years, longer than any other naval officer in U.S. history. Above all else, readers and viewers were reminded, with drum-beat regularity, Rickover was the Father of the Nuclear Navy.

Certainly, there can be little doubt about his paternity in this regard, but what most obits left out or buried was that Rickover eventually came to have grave doubts about his child. Most accounts of his life either ignored or glossed over his astonishing retirement comments in 1982 before Congress' Joint Economic Committee, in which he argued that the most important thing "we could do is start by having an international meeting where we first outlaw nuclear weapons, and then we outlaw nuclear reactors, too." In that unprecedented appear-

ance, Rickover also said of the nuclear-powered ships for which he was so famous: "[They're] a necessary evil. I would sink them all."

For all the attention it received in news accounts of his life, Rickover's historic sea change in attitudes might just as well never have happened. *The New York Times*, for instance, relegated mention of Rickover's 1982 comments to a single brief paragraph toward the end of an obit some fifty paragraphs long. The *Times* July 9 editorial on Rickover's death did not mention his anti-nuclear stance at all (though the subject was touched on in an interview with his son, Robert, that ran July 11). *The Washington Post* dealt with the subject in the closing two paragraphs of a subordinate story on a jump page. A check of wire service accounts published in six major California newspapers, including *The Los Angeles Times*, turned up no mention at all.

—William A. Dorman

But when Women for a Meaningful Summit, an umbrella organization of anti-nuclear, peace, and women's groups, held a three-day conference in Washington in July, the national press slept late again. It didn't seem to matter much that participating in these sessions were Joanne Woodward, congresswomen Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), Claudine Schneider (R-R.I.), and Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.), as well as almost every executive director of fifty-eight national peace groups. On July 18, Karen Mulhauser, director of Citizens Against Nuclear War, one of the sponsoring groups, was the subject of an insulting profile drawn by *USA Today* reporter Steven Marshall. In the 200-word article he rushed through the occasion for his piece (a conference about organizing for arms control, summits, and public policy) so he could get to phrases like, "When it comes to 'concrete accomplishments,' nothing beats weeding her garden," and a photo caption read, "Mulhauser: Enjoys knitting, cooking, reading mysteries."

Only two other major newspapers dealt with the conference: the *Providence Journal* picked up Rep. Schneider's participation and Mary McGrory mentioned the event in a very good *Washington Post* column of Sunday, July 20, "Of Summits and Sharks." But this mention did not appear until the fifteenth paragraph, and then briefly; her piece was about the larger issue at hand: will Reagan and Gorbachev meet for another summit?

Woodward received no print attention but did appear on CBS's "Nightwatch," which aired its segment at 2:30

a.m. and again at 4:30 a.m., July 21. In retrospect, Arden Cummings, director of Women for a Meaningful Summit, laments: "The press is still significantly more interested in war than they are in peace."

Widespread coverage of peace issues in the national media is clearly the exception when it should be the rule. One reason, of course, is that the military establishment spoon feeds the Pentagon press corps, providing thirteen desk officers to answer telephone calls from reporters, holding regular Tuesday and Thursday news conferences (more if the situation dictates), and issuing press releases, often several times a day.

The peace movement will never be able to compete with this blitz, nor should it have to. Was it incumbent on the peace organizations to hold a press conference to respond to Gorbachev's proposal? Why couldn't reporters have picked up their phones and done some enterprising interviewing to get beyond the crimped Cold War dimensions of the story? A few did. But for the most part, the Reagan administration dismissal of the Gorbachev proposal as just another public relations ploy was passed along by the media—and that was that.

There is a lot of peace news around, as local media have demonstrated. It is the job of the national media to vigorously pursue these stories. And the best way to begin would be to establish a peace beat in every major newsroom in the country.

PAMELA ABRAMS is a Center Associate and an assistant editor at Harper's magazine.

The Ultimate Deadline Is Upon Us...

No subject covered by the press is more urgent than the arms race. But the public's confusion suggests that the coverage is not good enough. What can be done to make it better? What stories does the press get wrong, or miss entirely? What can be done to improve the coverage of arms control and the peace movement? Of the next summit? Of "Star Wars"?

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY'S CENTER FOR WAR, PEACE, AND THE NEWS MEDIA

tries to answer these and many other questions by evaluating the reporting and suggesting ways to improve it. We hope to help the press do a better job by holding it up to scrutiny in *Deadline*, a new bi-monthly newsletter of research, analysis and opinion. We hope you will become a Center Member at an annual cost of only \$25 for individuals and \$50 for institutions. In addition to *Deadline*, members receive invitations to Center symposia and conferences as well as reduced prices on the Center's scholarly papers and books. Members may also make use of the Center's library of arms race press coverage.

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NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

PEACE WITH JUSTICE WEEK

Seminars, worship services, civil disobedience, and other events will be conducted across the country from **Oct 16-24** during the fourth National Peace with Justice Week. Emphasis will be placed on multi-issue and interfaith coalition building. *Contact:* Gary Gamer, Peace with Justice Week Grassroots Clearinghouse, Room 712, 475 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-3347.

PEACE CHILD ON TOUR

Peace Child, a musical play with (for the first time) a mixed cast of Russian and American children, opens **Sept 5-6** in **York, PA**. It then travels to **Harrisburg, PA**, **Rochester, NY**, **Boston, New York City**, **Minneapolis**, **Vancouver, Seattle**, **San Francisco**, **Los Angeles**, **Santa Barbara**, completing the tour in **Washington, D.C.** at the **Kennedy Center Oct 8**. For more information, *contact:* Lucia Effros, Peace Child Foundation, 3977 Chain Bridge Rd, Fairfax, VA 22030 (703) 385-4494.

SDI CARTOON CONTEST

The Center for Defense Information (CDI) is offering \$1000 for the cartoon that best illustrates the effect of Star Wars on the "security, economy, foreign relations, domestic conditions, future morale or morals of the United States, its allies or other nations." Contest is open to the public, with a **Sept 15 deadline**. Cartoons must be complete drawings in black and white, no larger than 11" x 14" or smaller than 5" x 7". Address entries or inquiries to CDI, 345 E 46 St, New York, NY 10017 (212) 661-5900.

DAYS OF DIALOGUE 1986

The annual program of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) will focus on the theme "Across Boundaries: Thinking About the Soviet Union," from **Nov 17-21**, with workshops, educational materials and activities in all states with ESR chapters. An organizing packet is also available to non-members. *Contact:* Larry Dieringer, ESR, 23 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-1764.

CABLE TELEVISION

Beginning **October 1**, CUNY-TV, the cable television station of the City University of New York, will offer two series dealing with the threat of nuclear war. *Quest for Peace* may be seen on **Wednesdays at 10:30 am**, with repeats at **2, 6:30, and 10 pm**. *Nuclear Issues* will air on **Wednesdays at 11 am**, repeating at **2:30, 7, and 10:30 pm**. CUNY-TV can be seen on both Manhattan Cable and Group W Cable systems in Manhattan. For more information, *contact:* CUNY-TV, Rm B-07, 33 W 42 St, New York, NY 10036 (212) 719-9128.

MEDIA OUTREACH

The Education and Film and Video Project (EFVP) is offering a "How-To" media packet and videotapes from the series "Solutions for Survival" to help local peace groups use television as an outreach and organizational tool. For more information, *contact:* EFVP, 1529 Josephine St, Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 849-3163.

SEPTEMBER 13

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** The National Weapons Facilities Organizers Strategy

Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast.

Please submit November and December events by October 1.

Conference, sponsored by National Mobilization for Survival (MfS), will bring together activists organizing around corporate and military installations involved in the research, production, testing, deployment and storage of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, **through Sept 14**. *Contact:* Bruce Cronin, MfS, 853 Broadway, Ste 418, New York, 10003 (212) 533-0008.

SEPTEMBER 15

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** "Judaism, War and the Nuclear Arms Race," featuring Elie Wiesel and Carl Sagan; Boston University. *Contact:* Todd Kaplan, Jewish Coalition for a Peaceful World, Ste 402, 72 Franklin St, Boston, MA 02110 (617) 542-0265.

SEPTEMBER 16

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** "Empowerment In a Nuclear Age," with Susan Saunders, MSW, and Judith Waldman, MSW; Brown Memorial Woodbrook Presbyterian Church Education Building. *Contact:* Judith Waldman, 500 West University Parkway, 1J, Baltimore, MD 21210 (301) 889-1122.

OHIO

• **Statewide** "Peace Education Day" in Ohio schools; teachers and students to focus on peace by studying peace personalities and creating dramas, essays, pictures. *Contact:* Julie Secrest, International Year of Peace, 2 W Winter St, Delaware, OH 43015 (614) 369-2360.

SEPTEMBER 19

TEXAS

• **Dallas** "The Time Has Come: Unit-ing Against Racism, Poverty and War," a conference with panels and workshops; Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Union, and Dr. Lynn Mims, professor of Theology at SMU, will speak; **through Sept 21**. For more information, *contact:* John Stoesz, Dallas Peace Center, 1907 S Harwood, Dallas, TX 75215 (214) 565-1947.

SEPTEMBER 21

NEW YORK

• **Rochester** "Strategies: Assuring Our Future," a conference on economic, political and spiritual options in a nuclear age; with keynote speaker television newsman Martin Agronsky; Jewish Community Center of Greater Rochester. *Contact:* Jane Schuster, Jewish Action for Nuclear Responsibility, Jewish Community Center of Greater Rochester, 1200 Edgewood Av, Rochester, NY 14618 (716) 271-5484.

MONTANA

• **Great Falls** "Big Sky Missile Tour Day," with guided tour of missile silos at Malmstrom AFB, followed by potluck celebration in Great Falls. *Contact:* Mark Anderlik, the Silence One Silo Campaign, c/o 327 8 Av N, Shelby, MT 59474 (406) 434-2148.

SEPTEMBER 25

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Banquet, in honor of Mildred Scott Olmsted, who will be presented with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) Lifetime Achievement Award; Eleanor Smeal, President of the National Organization for Women, will speak; Franklin Institute Museum. *Contact:* Phyllis Rubin, WILPF, 1213 Race St, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

SEPTEMBER 27

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** The 10th Annual War Resisters League (WRL) West's Pacificfest with food, live entertainment and raffle prizes. *Contact:* Cynthia Sharpe WRL/West, 942 Market St, Rm 705, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 433-6676.

MAINE

• **Bangor** "Bombs Away," an international symposium on the effects of the proliferation of nuclear weapons on public health and welfare; featuring Dr. Jack Geiger, president-elect of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR); Jonathan Schell; and four physicians from the Soviet Academy of Sciences; Peakes Auditorium, Bangor High School. *Contact:* Denise Cloutier, Eastern Maine PSR, 297 Center St, Rm 145, Bangor, ME 04401 (207) 947-8311 ext 360.

OCTOBER 1

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** "Honeywell Project Rally," to demand peace conversion of Minnesota's largest defense contractor. Plowshares activist Elizabeth McAlister will speak on "Gandhian nonviolence and today's peace movement"; Willey Hall, University of Minnesota. The Honeywell Project will mark Gandhi's birthday **Oct 2** with nonviolent civil disobedience at the Honeywell headquarters. *Contact:* Richard Seymour, 1519 East Franklin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 871-3753.

OCTOBER 4

IOWA

• **Dubuque** The Second Congressional District Fall Meeting, featuring Sam Day of Nukewatch as morning workshop leader and speaker; location tentative. *Contact:* Jay Robinson, Iowa Freeze, 4211 Grand, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

OCTOBER 10

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** "Coalition Building/Conflict Resolution," a workshop sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, **through Oct 11**. *Contact:* Helen Hollingsworth, American Friends Service Committee, 317 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 366-7200.

OCTOBER 11

MONTANA

Missile Silo Foreclosure auction followed by civil disobedience. Location to be announced; **through Oct 13**. *Contact:* The Silence One Silo Campaign, PO Box 9203, Missoula, MT 59807.

OCTOBER 18

IOWA

• **Cedar Rapids** "Therefore Choose Peace," a peace celebration for all ages, featuring speaker Bill McGlashan, International Vice-President of Beyond War. *Contact:* Jeremy Brigham, The People's Church, 600 Third Av SE, Cedar Rapids, IA 52401 (319) 362-9827.

OCTOBER 19

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** The Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute annual symposium, "Taking Hold of the Budget"; University of California. *Contact:* David Christiano, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, PO Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701 (415) 848-0599.

OCTOBER 24

MINNESOTA

• **St. Paul** UN Rally for international peace, "Search for Peace after Chernobyl," to include seminars and speaker Charles William Maynes, editor of *Foreign Policy*; Prom Center. *Contact:* Dortha Franzel, president, UN Rally Board, 800 Arm Dr, Mound, MN 55364 (612) 472-3276.

OCTOBER 25

MINNESOTA

• **St. Paul/Minneapolis** "Peace, Jobs and Justice Day" with rally focusing on the arms race, the effects of military budget on low income people, hunger, and other issues. *Contact:* Ginger Ehrman, Twin Cities Peace and Justice Coalition, 2401 University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 729-0382.

OCTOBER 30

NEW YORK

• **New York** Olaf Palme memorial lecture with Lisbet Palme and a Third World leader; Riverside Church. *Contact:* David Schilling, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900 ext 238.

NOVEMBER 1

CALIFORNIA

• **Irvine** "Designs for Peace," an exhibition sponsored by the Orange County chapter of Architects, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR); University of California. All artwork must be submitted by **Sept 15** to: Designs for Peace, c/o Stacy Dukes Design, 3093 S Harbor Blvd, Santa Ana, CA 92704 (714) 241-9144.

NOVEMBER 6

IOWA

• **Iowa City** The Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) Annual Conference will address global militarism and repression; building global institutions for peace; and interracial, intercultural and gender conflict; **through Nov 9**; University of Iowa. *Contact:* Clint Fink, COPRED, University of Illinois, 911 W High St, Rm 100, Urbana, Illinois 61801 (217) 333-2069.

**For the 1st time in America —
—a Soviet-American Peace Musical**



PEACE CHILD

a musical drama about American and Soviet young people becoming friends and shaping the future together,
written, directed, and performed by children of the
United States and the Soviet Union, the Stas Namin rock
band, Soviet folk singer Ludmilla Sentsina, and children's
choruses of 150-400 voices in each city.

York PA, Strand Theatre
Harrisburg PA, Forum Theatre
Rochester NY, Eastman Theatre
Boston MA, Opera House
New York City, Riverside Church
New York City, United Nations
Minneapolis MN, Northrop Auditorium

Vancouver BC, Orpheum Theatre
Seattle WA, Paramount Theatre
San Francisco CA, Palace of Fine Arts

San Francisco CA, Warfield Theatre
Los Angeles CA, Wiltern Theatre
Santa Barbara CA, Arlington Theatre
Washington, D.C., Kennedy Center

September 5th & 6th at 7:30 pm
September 7th at 7:30 pm
September 9th at 7:30 pm**
September 12th & 13th at 7:30 pm**
September 14th at 7:30 pm
September 16th at 1:00 pm
September 20th at 7:30 pm
September 21st at 2:30 pm**
September 23rd at 3:00 pm
September 25th at 7:30 pm**
September 27th at 7:30 pm
September 28th at 2:30 pm
September 28th at 7:30 pm##
September 30th at 7:30 pm##
October 4th at 7:30 pm**
October 8th at 8:15 pm

**On these days, there will be late night concerts featuring the music of the Stas Namin Rock Band, Ludmilla Sentsina, and American and Soviet Guests.

##These concerts will be Gala events including parts of "PEACE CHILD" with a program of Soviet and American popular music and will include major American stars

Ticket Prices \$5 - \$25 (will vary from city to city)

FOR TICKETS AND GENERAL INFORMATION
CALL (703) 385-4494